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ABSTRACT

Current research on adolescence provides plenty of facts about delinquency, unemployment, and illegitimacy, yet tells us little or nothing about the inner life of adolescents. In an attempt to provide more information, the research reported on here describes the "periods" of adolescence as they are structured in the various social-institutional contexts of the family, the school, the workplace, the media, the criminal justice system, and the peer group. Also discussed is how these social systems interact to produce a code or codes of rules internalized by individual adolescents. Data from ethnographic fieldwork in urban, suburban, and rural communities in the United States, from psychodynamic interviews with youth in these same communities, and from the research and practice literature in each of the institutional contexts illustrate the connections and conflicts between and among the institutional contexts and how youth internalize this pattern of organization. The findings of the research lead to the development of a model of the psychosocial organization of adolesence. This model emphasizes linkage among social institutions in a community approach to youth in order to help the adolescent make the transition to adulthood without unnecessary delays and confusion. (CMG)

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HOME, SCHOOL, AND COMMUNITY IN ADOLESCENT EDUCATION

By

Francis A. J. Ianni

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I. INTRODUCTION

Adolescence, the period of transition from childhood to adult status, continues to set the stage for many of the most dramatic social and psychological problems in American society. In fact, there is considerable evidence that it is the problems of adolescence which give salience to the existence of this special age grade. A variety of social problems identify it statistically. Juvenile delinquency has increased by over 250 percent since 1950 and current estimates are that between 80 and 90 percent of persons under 18 years of age commit some offense for which they could be arrested (National Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse 1982). While youth comprise less than one-quarter of the labor force, they represent almost one-half of the unemployment in America, although more than six billion dollars has been targeted since 1977 on youth unemployment. Despite the legalization of abortion, illegitimacy has increased by more than one-third among 18–19 year olds and by a startling three-quarters among 14–17 year olds, and teenage pregnancy rates are now higher in the United States than in many industrialized and even some unindustrialized nations.

These are social facts, yet they appear almost as empty numbers, telling us little or nothing about the inner life, the feelings about life, education, sex, and work, that underwrite them. Neither can we document statistically the psychological and social facts behind the dramatic increase in suicide among the young in recent decades or the fact that child and adolescent psychiatrists report that increasing numbers of male students are seeking help for impotence. The popular culture, fed by these social facts, seems eminently able to combine them into a group portrait of what American adolescents are like. Yet, despite the seeming conformity of behavior and style assumed in such collective characterizations, there was and still is considerable controversy in both professional and public arenas over "the youth problem," who is responsible for it, and what should be done about it. While much of the public storm and stress over adolescence can be attributed to media overexposure of youth, it does in fact mirror a controversy in research and practice over causality in the psychosocial problems associated with adolescence which is both longstanding and unreconciled. There continues to be an obvious contrast in the research literature between what might be called psychophysical and sociocultural orientations.

Following the essentially biological, stage-related approach to adolescence of Hall (1904), a number of differing perspectives among the stage-related theories have become important. These include (1) those approaches which, like Hall's, are primarily concerned with physical attributes (Gesell, Tanner), (2) the psychoanalytic-personality theories (Sigmund Freud, Anna Freud, Blos, Erikson, Matteson), and (3) those that concentrate on cognitive development (Piaget, Kohlberg). While these approaches differ in perspective, and in the value they place on environmental influence, they are related by the shared assumption that the organism progresses through a finite set of developmental stages, where each substage is dependent upon the successful completion of prior stages.

On the other side of the argument, ever since Margaret Mead's studies of maturation in *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) made public the possibility of cultures which did not exhibit inevitable storm and stress from childhood to adulthood, the sociocultural literature has moved from the position that anatomy is not destiny to an obvious disdain for the role of biology in adolescence (Muus 1975). And, with notable exceptions — such as Bettelheim (1969) and Hollingshead (1949) — most social research on adolescence has long focused on specific problem areas such as juvenile delinquency, youth unemployment, and a variety of school-related social and educational problems. More recently, there is a developing "institutional context" literature such as Colin Lacey's work on adolescent socialization in age-graded schools (Lacey 1970), Eli Ginsberg (1962) on the workplace, Wilson (1978) on mental health systems for adolescents, and my own work on the criminal justice systems (Ianni 1978 and Ianni and Reuss-Ianni 1979).

The best-known exemplar of this literature is the work of Coleman (1961, 1965). It was Coleman's focus on adolescence as a distinctive subgroup culture which, more than any other work, coalesced the sociocultural and social problems context (in contradistinction to the individualistic heritage from the state theorists) of adolescent "society." It was also Coleman's work which helped, analytically at least, to remove adolescence from its multiinstitutional locus. To some extent this was the result of his emphasis on education as "probably a society's second most fundamental task." But, more importantly, he describes the primacy of the adolescent peer group as the result of increasing age-segregation in industrialized society which turns the group into itself.

The distinctive foci described above have, necessarily, also determined the questions asked and the methods used to seek answers. What has been lost is the psychosocial interplay, not only between individuals and institutions, single minds and collective forces as it were, but also in the interactive effects of differing institutional definitions of child-adult transition and the resulting tension between inner and outer experience.

In the spring of 1979 I, along with a small group of anthropologists, sociologists, and psychoanalysts, began a phased study of the transition from childhood to adulthood in a variety of social contexts using methods drawn from field ethnography, clinical psychoanalysis, and survey research. What we proposed was to develop an integrative model of adolescence by using ethnographic techniques to examine how a variety of socioinstitutional contexts in ten communities in various parts of the country define the transition from childhood to adulthood. We would also use psychodynamic interviews with youth in these same communities to uncover how these contexts are internalized, how they are accommodated, and if fluctuations in adolescent needs influence which code or codes of rules exert the most influence. We felt that this model would give contextual definition to the variety of problems associated with adolescence and enable us to describe the tensions between inner and outer experience which characterize the psychosocial life of youth. Since both the psychophysical and sociocultural research continue to focus on *the* period of adolescence, it seemed necessary for us to look at the *periods* of adolescence, as they are structured in the various social institutional contexts of the family, the school, the workplace, the media, the criminal justice system, and the peer group, and how these social systems interact to produce a code or code of rules internalized by individual adolescents. Thus our basic research question for the research was "What are the codes of rules which structure the transition from childhood to adulthood in various institutional contexts in actual communities and how do the adolescents in these communities learn to use these rules?"

As an integral part of the research program, we felt that the vast scientific and popular literature on adolescence should be studied with a "field research" approach. By such an approach we meant entering that literature at the same time that we were conducting field research in the various sites and following field leads to seek out particular areas of the literature. Thus, when we were looking at adolescent runaways in an urban site, we not only went into the scientific and popular literature available on that subject but interviewed writers and social agency and criminal justice specialists who had dealt with runaways and sought out related federal as well as local program materials. These data from the literature, from interviews, and from policy sources would then become part of the data set along with the observational and psychodynamic interview materials.

In this monograph I would like to report on some of the findings from the ethnographic fieldwork, the psychodynamic interviews, and the policy and literature reviews. First I want to present the connections and conflicts between and among the institutional contexts — work and schooling, the family and the peer group, the criminal justice system and other social contexts — as we saw and heard them in actual communities and to relate this information to the research and practice literature in each of the contexts. Once we have been able to look at these specific contextual frames to see how they individually and sometimes idiosyncratically structure the adolescent transformation, I want to describe how particular patterns of relationships among the various social contexts of a community relate to the psychosocial organization of adolescence and what results can be inferred in social programs for youth and in their inner lives.

The importance of such a means of looking at the social context of adolescence is well documented in many of the recent compendia of research and practice with this age grade. (See, for example, Adelson 1980; Blos 1979; Bronfenbrenner 1979; Esman, 1975; Scarr 1979.) Single process models such as the delinquency subculture or peer group structure approaches have both obscured the conjunctive effects of the pattern of relationships among institutions and, I believe, neglected the importance of adults as important and valued sources of help in the adolescent search for structure from those institutional contexts in developing an identity. A holistic model and accounting for the effects of variations in the institutional patterns within that model should help to further the examination of social contextual effects and illuminate for practitioners as well as for researchers the psychosocial effects of such variations. In his essay *Civilization and its Discontents*, Freud asks, "What would be the use of the most acute analysis of social neurosis since no one possesses the power to compel the community to adopt the therapy?" (Freud 1958). I contend that it is possible to develop prescriptive recommendations for dealing with the transition from childhood to adulthood if we first take the time to examine how that transition is molded by different institutional contexts, how the adolescent internalizes the rules of each context, and how adolescents cope or fail to cope with contradictory rules and roles.

II. FAMILIES AND PEERS IN ADOLESCENCE

Of the several arenas of conflict which surround the transition from child to adult status, the most longstanding and universal controversy concerns the relative influences of families and peers in adolescent psychosocial development. Almost a half-century ago, Ruth Benedict set the stage for current debates when she described the universality of role discontinuities between childhood and adulthood. Almost everywhere children are expected to be submissive, asexual, and free from productive responsibility while their parents, as adults, are required to be dominant, sexual, and responsible (Benedict 1948). Since that time the inconsistencies, contradictions, and rapid transformations in values and attitudes which result from social change have been widely blamed for changing norms for what is expected of children as contrasted to adults. The incursion of other institutional contexts such as the school or the workplace on the family was held responsible for the discontinuities and stresses which resulted. Then, particularly as the result of James Coleman's *The Adolescent Society* (1961), we began to identify a unique youth culture of adolescents as a distinct and discrete social system. More than simply an age-grade in the ongoing life cycle in society, the adolescent peer group had its own psychosocial unity, capable of resisting and even countering the adult society's demands for integration in the general community. Again, while mass schooling was responsible for creating the age segregation and consequent lack of contact with adults, it was also attended by the notion of a "generation gap" between parents and their offspring and frequent assertions of the breakdown or even breakup of the American family. If Philippe Aries' (1962) disclosures of the recency of childhood as a separate stage of life requiring special institutions pictured a new era in which the child was increasingly segregated from the family, Christopher Lasch's (1979) recent call to rescue the besieged family proposes it as the rightful custodian of primary socialization:

> As the chief agency of socialization, the family reproduces cultural patterns in the individual. It not only imparts cultural norms, providing the child with his first instruction in the prevailing social rules, it pro-

> foundly shapes his character, in ways of which he is not even aware. The family instills modes of thought and action that become habitual. Because of its enormous emotional influence, it colors all of a child's subsequent experience (p. 3).

Contrast this view with that of J. H. Plumb (1972):

> Repression, conformity, discipline and exclusion were until lately the historically bred attitudes of most educationalists and parents . . . . Kept out of the adult world, the adolescents naturally created a world of their own choosing — one that incorporated their own music, their own morals, their own clothes, and their own literature. And they, of course, began naturally to capture the minds and imagination of the children who, though younger in age, nevertheless lived with them in the same educational territory. In consequence, during the past few years the period between infancy and adolescence has been sharply reduced and may be reduced even further in the future (p. 166).

Whichever of these very divergent views accurately depicts the role of the modern family in shaping and directing the life of adolescents, the recent literature on the family has underscored the diversity in family structures and how much these structures are correlate with the social contexts and cultural systems within which they operate (Hartmann 1981). Families, and so their internal structures and relationships, are powerfully influenced by culture, social class, demographic features such as urban-surburban-rural residence, neighborhood structure, and occupational experiences of family members (Olivieri and Reiss 1981). At the same time, however, there is also considerable interest in how they can relate to those environments and use their own internal patterns of interaction, both marital and parent-child, to mediate those environments (Hess and Handel 1957; Eiduson 1979). What I would like to present here, from our reviews of the research and policy literature and from our observations and interviews, is first, some aspects of the psychosocial dimensions through which parents seem to influence their adolescent children's interface with other social institutions. Then I want to present some evidence of how various youth collectives such as gangs and friendship networks organize to implement or circumvent those influences and, finally, some observational and interview materials from three communities on how these patterns and forces integrate in behavior and attitude.

The Family of Orientation

While there have been contrasting and often conflicting reports by essayists and researchers on the stability of the modern American family and the alternately dire or propitious results of its demise for child and society, there is no disagreement on its importance in orienting children into the psychosocial world. The school, the peer group, crime and drugs, television, and all of the other competitors for influence in child socialization may eventually overcome the family, but it does place the child in the world. It is in the family that the child receives and first develops his or her gender and socioeconomic entry point in society.

The research on social stratification in American society continues to show that there is a stable correlation between fathers' and sons' occupational attainment and that size of family, education of parents, and other family-related characteristics such as race, sex and, rural-urban origin are influential factors in the level of educational attainment (Blau and Duncan 1967). When Alexander and Eckland (1980) followed up a nationally representative sample of high school graduates fifteen years later, they reported that educational and occupational attainment are related to parents' attainment, but that the relation is mediated sufficiently by socialization and school process variables to produce some semblance of a meritocratic stratification process in current society. In the epilogue to their study of high school achievement, Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore (1982) concluded that:

> . . . if studies of school achievement have shown one thing, it is the importance of the family. And school achievement is only one element in the process of becoming an adult; the family's contributions to other elements is even more important. If an early withdrawal of family attention, interest, and involvement is to become the fate of an increasing fraction of our youth, it can be expected to have especially serious consequences (p. 191).

There is also a good deal of research which indicates that females differ from males during childhood and beyond in terms of social expectations in schooling (Coleman et al. 1966; Jencks et al 1972) and expectations of conformity to authority (Gilligan 1979). They are more likely to be referred to juvenile authorities by parents for "ungovernability" or "incorrigibility," which are usually buffer charges for sexual misconduct, promiscuity, or even the fear of it (Jolly 1979).

The family, particularly when it is psychologically or physically disrupted, has also been cited as a primary causal factor in delinquent behavior. Generally, psychological approaches to the study of delinquent behavior have recognized two major sources for such behavior: inadequate internalization of social norms through faulty family socialization and adolescent crises which result from pubertal and social interactional change characteristic of adolescent social relationships. The emphasis on inadequate or faulted family socialization is largely psychoanalytic in its origins. Curtiss, Feczo, and Marohn (1979) found superego pathology — problems of internalizing or dealing with social behavioral guides — to be the predominant theme in pyschoanalytic approaches to delinquency. Here again the importance of adequate family socialization was found to be crucial in a pattern in which faulty identification with the same sex parent as an ego ideal or model was further complicated by difficulties with parents' overly punitive or overly restrictive denial of impulse gratification. Other family-related elements such as sibling rivalry, incestuous wishes, and narcissistic object relations were identified by Aichorn (1935). Johnson (1949) pointed to the unconscious promotion of antisocial behavior in children for their parents' own vicarious gratification. Failure to achieve separation-individuation by finding an identity as an individual apart from the family has also been suggested as one of the family-related factors in delinquent behavior. Adolescents suffer unresolved abandonment depression and act out to ward off the emptiness and depression by associating self-assertion with the loss of maternal love.

There has also, of course, always been considerable evidence that sons follow their fathers into criminal careers. Any number of factors from modeling to decreased life changes may be and probably are responsible here. Recent research in England indicates that even when the father's criminal career preceded the birth of his son, there were significantly increased chances that the son would turn to a criminal career even where parenting behavior was not noticeably inferior to that in non-convict-fathered families (Osborne and West 1980). These findings are discomfiting in their suggestion that if we rule out modeling as this study seems to, we are left to decide among family labeling, a social tradition, or even genetic explanations.

The findings that serious delinquents are more likely to come from broken homes or from intact homes characterized by hostility, violent conflict, and child abuse are well known but there are some interesting aspects of more recent research on this relationship. Andry (1962) found that delinquents differed from nondelinquents (45 percent compared to 4 percent) in that they felt that they received too little love from their parents and reported considerably more parental hostility. Most of the delinquents also felt that they were loved only by their mothers and expressed longings to be loved by their fathers as well. Monhan (1962), reporting on the clear advantages of children from intact homes over those from broken homes in the probability of becoming delinquent, found a much higher broken home rate for girls, regardless of race, than for boys. Again, this may reflect the tendency of juvenile authorities to incarcerate girls whose inadequate home supervision may be presumed to lead to sexual misconduct and pregnancy more than it reflects a higher offense rate. Finally, the question of the effects of working mothers is a persistent but increasingly important question in the etiology of delinquency. When the Gluecks (1962) reanalyzed their earlier (1950) data which had found that three of the five factors which seemed to account for serious delinquency were related to the mother's role in childrearing (affection of the mother for the boy, supervision of the boy by the mother, and family cohesiveness), they had some interesting new insights on the role of the working mother. They found that, at least in this lower-income sample, while about equal numbers of the mothers of delinquents and nondelinquents were employed, a greater percentage of the mothers of delinquents worked irregularly. A boy whose mother worked (whether occasionally or regularly) and who was carelessly supervised was also far more likely to become delinquent than was the poorly-supervised son of a housewife. In related research, Anolik (1980) found that delinquents had more negative perceptions of their families than nondelinquents as well as negative perceptions of parental marital relations.

There seems to be little question of the influence of parents on their children and a growing realization that socialization is transactional in families as parents learn about the social world through the experiences of their children. Certainly there is evidence of conflict within the family and not only child abuse by parents but the increasing evidence of parent abuse, has led to the formation of national as well as local associations to deal with this previously unreported family phenomenon (York and York 1982). There are also changes which stem from the changing character of parenting as roughly one-third of the families in some parts of the country are now single-parent collectives.

The literature of the sixties, which located parents and youth in different social worlds, stressed conflicting ideologies of the generations and yet we know very little about the dimensions of intrafamilial conflict and even less about its eventual effects on adolescent rebelliousness (Eckhardt and Schriner 1969). Dorothy Jones Jessop (1981), summarizing the research on the congruence of the reports of adolescents and their parents on family conflict, found:

> . . . low-to-moderate associations between the reports of family life by parents and their children, a good deal of disagreement, and some tendency for parents to give socially desirable responses more often than do their children (p. 97).

What does seem clear is that family interaction does have a direct relationship with the problems which youth present in their social worlds (Bahr 1979) and attachment to parents has an even greater relationship (Weis et al. 1980). Weis and Hawkins (1981), in their report on the prevention of juvenile delinquency, concluded that parenting is a persistent but increasingly important question in the etiology of delinquent behavior.

Cliques, Friends, Gangs, and Peer Group Culture

The emergence of the peer group as the referent orientation, while it has been most widely described in adolescence, actually begins much earlier. The Opies (1959), for example, have described how children's games bring them together in age-graded groupings — a process, by the way, which Aries points out once involved adults playing with children until such games became distinctly child-centered in the early eighteenth century (1966: 101-111). The Opies have also documented a universal phenomenon of children sharing a vast amount of lore and language frequently known and used only by them (Opie and Opie 1959). Such groupings of age-related youngsters, however, are always anchored in the home and the neighborhood and even when the child starts in school he or she returns to or more frequently remains in that cultural community. What differentiates the adolescent peer group is its emergence as a separate social system with loosened or in some cases detached ties to the orienting family and even purported antagonism to it. There is not, however, complete agreement on the characteristics or dimensions of such an autonomous or even semiautonomous youth culture, or whether it is or is not the crucible for amalgamating adolescent behavior.

The notion of a discontinuity between the orderly progression of the individual life cycle and the postpubescent seeking an identity as an adult has long been an issue of both popular and scholarly concern. Adolescents, individually and collectively, have been described as isolated from the world of adult works (Ausubel 1954; Sebald 1968). David Riesman insisted that youth were becoming "other-directed" and that the family was "but merely a part of a wider social environment to which [the youth] early becomes attentive" (1950: 26). Neither parents nor teachers acted as models for adulthood to youth (Blos 1941; Havighurst, Robinson, and Dorr 1960) but instead images presented in films and books and on television were used as models (Coleman 1965). And Talcott Parsons pointed out that adolescents were forced to look to each other to develop their own social codes because of a manifest lack of guidance as well as conflicting expectations from adults (1961).

The conceptualization of a unique adolescent society or culture, however, really emerged with Coleman's study of peer behavior in high schools (Coleman 1961). The locus of the discovery in the high school is not surprising since compulsory and prolonged education has long been considered the major social movement which gave rise to an identifiable period of adolescence. Coleman asked students in high schools to select the most popular students and to explain why they should be considered popular. The characteristics they cited were not good grades or intellectual orientation or industriousness or any of the other school and adult valued features which Coleman had anticipated. Instead, girls tended to choose good personalities, good looks, being well dressed, and having a good reputation. The one characteristic they chose which could be associated with parental values was being born into the right family. Boys were not very different in their orientations, listing good personality, good reputation, being an athlete, and good looks before adding good grades, having a car, and good clothes. It was this orientation to present concerns and issues rather than a future orientation which led Coleman to describe a distinct "adolescent society" as a social system in which adolescents were oriented solely to their peers.

Following Coleman's work, a number of other studies sought to replicate his findings. Cawelti (1968) found similar results in a suburban college preparatory high school where, when asked what they most wanted to be remembered for after graduation, 54 percent of the students listed popularity, 28 percent said as a leader in student activities, while only 18 percent wanted to be remembered as good students. Snyder (1972), in a study of high school juniors, found that they stressed the importance of personal qualities, material possessions, and social activities; here, however, academic achievement was as important for girls as activities, but less than athletics for boys. In a study of students in nineteen Canadian high schools, Freisen (1968) amplified on Coleman's findings and added some interesting insights. In his sample, at least, students preferred to be remembered for their academic achievement and placed less emphasis on popularity and athletics. Students here also showed little difficulty in separating what was important for success in later life from what was needed for success in high school. Friendliness and good looks were selected as important for being in the leading crowd, but, when asked what was important for success after graduation the students felt that personality and academic achievement were most important, with athletics being listed as marginal. What this suggested was that the conforming and present-oriented behavior of adolescent society is temporary and school-specific and that it may well be a response to the structure of opportunity for prestige and self-esteem available in American high schools.

Like any society, adolescent society soon came to be recognized as having its own culture or at least subculture. It provided a source for personality styles. Peck and Havighurst (1960) identified socialization practices which produced adolescent "types": the amoral, the expedient conforming, the conscientious, and the rational altruistic. Havighurst later (1975) described and estimated the number of adolescents who could be typed by their relationship to institutions: forerunners or leaders (20 percent), the practical minded with professional vocations (60 percent) and the left-outs such as drop-outs (20 percent). At about this same time, Baumrind (1975) proposed eight personality styles to be found among adolescents in terms of their socialization: social agents, social victims, traditionalists, the alienated, the socialized, the delinquent, the humanist, and the conformist. Schonfeld (1971) described adolescence as an age of rebellious conformity, combining group assertiveness with self-effacement, with adolescents disenchanted with and cynical about a society which offered too little that is meaningful, relevant, and stable, and "feeling abandoned by the adult world, [. . . turning] to their peer group as the model for their behavior" (p.90).

The exponents of "the generation gap" and the "youthquake" of the sixties reinforced and, to some extent reified, the media-hyped "rebellious youth subculture" perception of adolescence. There are, however, a growing number of researchers and essayists who question if it does or ever did exist. One area of criticism, for example, is the youth culture element of rebelliousness against parents and the turning to peers for guidance. Not only is there research evidence that families continue to have a major role in youth decision making (Pouvan and Adelson 1966; Slocum 1963), most evidence indicates that adolescents' attitudes and values are quite similar to their parents' value orientations (Bealer, Willits, and Maida 1971). Further, the selection or designation of parents or peers as the pertinent reference group is not unidimensional but rather situational; adolescents tend to turn to peers for advice on situations which have implications for present status, identity needs, and peer relations and behavior while they opt for their parents' advice on topics with implications for future status and roles and entry into adult society (Brittain 1969; Larson 1972; Sebald and White 1980).

There is also disagreement on the effects of peers on each other's behavior and the extent to which the social problems associated with this period are mediated through group membership or are individual pathologies or problems. Jessor and Jessor (1977) found that the attitudes and behaviors of an adolescent's friends in relation to sexual, drug, and delinquent activity were very influential on the adolescent's actual behavior both in terms of providing a normative framework and access to substance or settings. Thornburg (1975), on the other hand, found that while conformity is characteristic of adolescence and peers would exert a dominant influence, other factors such as the need for acceptance, the fear of rejection, and the desire to escape loneliness are as important as the need to comply. In effect, the development of an ego-syntonic value system is a dynamic interplay between modeling parents, sensitivity to peer influences, and the individual's own striving for independence. The salience of this latter multicausal approach is supported by some of the evidence of what we now know about some features of teenage behavior.

Peers and drug use. One of the major social concerns about the effect of peer culture is drug use. The research has consistently shown that drug users are not close to their parents (Babst and Brill 1973; Tolone and Dermott 1975) and even that conflict with parents was associated with drug use (Greenwald and Luetgert 1971). It was also widely assumed, and the assumption seemed to be supported by the research, that peer pressure and a drug culture associated with peer groups was instrumental in drug use (Matchett 1971; MacDonald et al. 1973). Recent research, however, is beginning to cast some doubt on just how influential peer groups are in the incidence of drug use among adolescents. Blum (1974) found that it was acquaintances — not friends — who first introduced individual adolescents to drugs. Tec (1974) found that while 49 percent of adolescent drug users bought the drugs from their friends, an almost equal number (48 percent) bought their drugs from age-mates who were not necessarily their friends. She also found that it is the loners, the adolescents who are not close to their parents but are also not close to their friends, who are most likely to be drug users. In another recent study, Tuder, Peterson, and Clifson (1980) found that parental relations were associated with adolescent drug use but that peer influences, as measured by scales of social adequacy, social isolation, and independence had virtually no association with adolescent drug use. They conclude from their research and other studies that "it may well be that the drug user may be the adolescent who is the loner in this culture, the adolescent without family and friends" (pp. 796-797).

Peers and gangs. There is also contradictory evidence about the effects of peer pressure and peer group structure on gang behavior. As we saw dramatically in "West Side Story," the street or fighting gang is a product of the urban slum and peculiarly associated with the dominance of peer group structure over parental and other social influences in the lives of lower-class youth. Street gangs still do exist in the major urban areas and they seem to be increasing in importance, but a number of such groupings, such as the Guardian Angels who patrol high crime areas as surrogate police, have chosen socially constructive forms of behavior. Moreover, Polk (1975) found that the rate of deviant behavior was highest among peer-oriented boys and those most involved in the youth culture activities such as "hanging out" or "cruising" streets or shopping malls, in middle-class as well as lower-class youth groups. The most important variable, however, was neither peer orientation nor parental orientation; rather, school involvement seemed so powerful that he described two opposing youth subcultures, one school oriented and the other involved in "youthful hedonism and intergroup loyalty." Tygart (1980) found that college student data implicate certain student subcultures as supportive of criminal attitudes or behavior. In fact, greater social involvement among students was associated with increased cynicism and criminal activity, particularly for the affluent, possibly reflecting the changed attitudes of society itself against power structures and legal strictures in general.

More recent sociological perspectives on delinquency have tended to move away from the single-cause approach and have also somewhat modified the normative pattern of highly-structured gangs as critical to delinquent behavior (see Chapter IV). Gangs, are, however, still an important locus of violent crime among youths and while their importance seems to wax and wane in different decades, they are a peer group structure which must be considered. While accurate information on the size and scope of juvenile gang activity in the United States is difficult to come by, the 1981 estimates by the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency are representative. They show that there are approximately 120,000 law-violating youth groups with about 1,500,000 members in the 2,100 American cities and towns with populations of 10,000 or over, so that this number represents about one-fifth of the number of male adolescents in these communities (Miller 1982). Such "disruptive groups," however, are not all gangs in the classic sense. Generally, they have a loose structure and while group members regularly associate with each other and become involved in illegal actions, they do not have the permanence, structure, and identifiable leadership one finds in a gang. There are about 2,200 gangs with approximately 96,000 members located in approximately 300 American towns and cities. While we have always thought of such gangs as the products of the inner-city areas of the major metropolises, about half of these gangs, and about one-third of all gang members, are found in cities with populations of one-half million or less (Miller 1982).

Adolescents: a separate caste? It is always possible to debate the relative influence of peers and parents in adolescence on a variety of issues but it is much more difficult to deal with the underlying assumption of an adolescent culture or subculture which relates peers together behaviorally. Dwight Macdonald in a *New Yorker* article in 1958 entitled, "A Caste, A Culture, A Market," pointed out what is often ignored in looking at the possibilities of a youth social system distinct from the general society. The notion is particularly a post-World-War-II one and before that time "the teenager was considered funny, innocent, lighthearted and, whenever it came to a showdown, firmly under the parental thumb." The discovery of a unique separatist youth culture was coincident with the discovery of youth as a lucrative market. Macdonald describes Eugene Gilbert, as the first of the teen market researchers, discovering in the late fifties that not only were teenagers growing in number as a result of the postwar "baby boom" but they had money and both the leisure time and freedom from parental controls to spend it.

Coleman's delineation of an adolescent society in 1961, described earlier, was instrumental in focusing scholarly attention on an adolescent society. It was a series of social movements — the draft protests of the Vietnam era, the riots in colleges and universities, and the distinct threat of a youth rebellion — however, which brought public attention to a cultural entity which seemed to be in complete opposition to adult values and attitudes. In the President's Science Advisory Committee's 1973 publication *Youth, Transition to Adulthood,* Coleman found that the youth culture had become more self-conscious, with a press toward autonomy and a normative pattern which deviated from those of adults manifesting itself in youths' "high regard for youth who successfully challenged adults, or who act autonomously of adults." He also found that "the proliferation of media channels that cater to minority youth" was a major factor in the disruption of youth and adult norms and so for the solidification of the youth culture. The culture, in effect, arose when adults lost control of the media, when, in response to market possibilities, films designed to appeal to youth, radio stations which played their music, and underground newspapers addressed to youth issues nationalized the peer group. This permitted deviant norms to spread more easily beyond the locality of origin (pp. 112-125).

Concerns about rebelliousness were not the only adult antagonisms to the emergence of a youth culture. The combined threat of valueless teenagers with the money and the time to spend on unfettered appetites and the new youth marketplace where those tasteless desires would quickly and profitably be satisfied led to concern not only with media exploitation but with the potential effects on the traditional institutions of social control. Jessie Bernard (1973), for example, observed,

> As contrasted with the traditional agencies charged with socializing youngsters, the advertisers and the mass media flatter and cajole. They seek to create desires in order to satisfy, rather than, as the parent, teacher, or minister must often do, to discipline, restrict, or deny them (p. 4).

Writing in *Daedalus* in 1960, Shils commented:

> An extraordinary quantity of popular music, mediocre and brutal films, periodical literature, and forms of dance is produced for and consumed by youth. This is something unprecedented, and this is the heart of the revolution of mass culture. . . . The eagerness of youth for the mediocre and brutal culture provided by the mass media and that youths' own creative poverty are universal phenomena (p. 299).

From the fifties on, the characterization of adolescent culture has changed in each decade so that it has always been possible to talk about the youth of the sixties as contrasted to those of the seventies. Each decade had its special problems for youth ranging from drugs to unemployment and was characterized as hedonistic or idealistic. Some problems were and continue to be dramatic and frightening for adults, whether parents or professionals, and, in their media treatment at least, become popularly associated with the excesses or pressures of youth culture. Teenage suicide, for example, is often linked with youth culture and its effect on adolescents. A more careful examination of suicide rates among adolescents in relation to adult rates and what factors seem most important in adolescent suicide, however, would seem to cast some doubt on the youth culture causality. In his analysis of suicide among children and adolescents, Robert Gould (1965) has pointed out that the complex of psychodynamic and cultural factors involved in suicide are similar for adults and adolescents and differ primarily in terms of the adolescents' level of development. In his studies of the high suicide rates in parts of Scandinavia, Herbert Hendin also found that child-rearing practices are implicated in the psychodynamic as well as cultural factors involved (1964). Bruhn (1962) found that social disorganization of families is rather significantly involved as well; five times as many adolescents attempted suicide within a year after the death or absence of one or both parents and four times as many where the breadwinner was unemployed than was true of control patients.

Teenage pregnancy is another of the growing problems among adolescents which is popularly associated with youth culture influences on the behavioral choices of the young. The data on the declining age at which first sexual experience begins, the lowering of the age of first pregnancy, and the growth in the number of teenage pregnancies and single teenage mothers which places the United States close to the top of the list of countries with the highest adolescent fertility rates are clear statistical facts (Alan Guttmacher Institute 1976). The issues of teenage sexuality and contraception and the sharp rise in carried-to-term pregnancies by teenage mothers are separable, and yet each is clearly linked to adult society. The relationship between the general relaxation of sexual taboos which led to the Sexual Revolution is demonstrably not a phenomenon restricted to adolescence. The availability of/and knowledge about birth control techniques has led to a reduction in pregnancies among adult women, but teenagers have not shown a similar decline despite increasing emphasis on sex education and family planning services. It was the concern with teenage mothers which led to the establishment of a federal Office of Adolescent Pregnancy under Public Law 95-626. There are well-established reasons for this concern.

Infant and maternal mortality risks are greater for teenagers than for adults. In addition adolescent pregnancy and maternity are associated with educational deficits and reduced occupational chances for the mother, child abuse, and evidence of developmental lags and behavior problems for the child. But there is also evidence that pregnancy and maternity in adolescence may be as much related to working out social relational problems as to precocious sexual activity. Abernethy (1974), for example, found that characteristic in the profile of the high-school-aged girl predisposed to risk unwanted pregnancies were (1) not liking the mother or feeling that she is not an adequate role model, (2) liking the father better than the mother (suggesting counterphobic behavior with displacement to another man), (3) hostility in the parents' marriage (but not so high that the girl sides with mother against father), (4) poor relationships with other women (reflecting low self-esteem) and (5) considering her "best" relationships to be with men (although she may experience tension and be fearful of not meeting expectations). Interestingly, Abernethy cites the school as the best resource for dealing with such problems but also criticizes them for evading their responsibility. David Youngs, of the Johns Hopkins Center for Social Studies in Human Reproduction (Westhoff 1976) indicates that girls may pick pregnancy rather than drugs or alcohol as a way to resolve family problems, split off from the mother, replace the father as an object of affection, or search for identity.

These social problems link adolescents individually to their families and to other social institutions and it is difficult if not impossible to assess the role of peer pressure in their etiology. There are, however, peer related aspects of adolescence which do form a symbolic pattern of standardization in such behavioral aspects as dress, language, and stylized behavior. One of the most powerful of these symbolic patterns has been rock music, in many ways the aesthetic representation of the changing patterns of the youthful relationship to society. From its emergence in the fifties, rock has been seen as a release from the rigors and confining restraints of capitalist society, a barely sublimated form of release for adolescent sexual energy and, inevitably, as the national anthem for the youth rebellion. Macdonald characterized rock in 1958:

> Here teenism reaches its climax, or its nadir — at any rate, its least inhibited expression. Here one may observe in their purest forms the teenagers' defiance of adult control, their dominance of certain markets, their tendency to set themselves up as a caste, and the tribal rituals and special dialect they have evolved (p. 71).

Not everyone agreed that it was entirely subversive in its intent and there were critics, such as Mike Jahn (1973) who saw it as a "sort of artificial solidarity; a means through which its young listeners seek to establish among themselves an interest group with common experiences, common goals, and a common voice."It dealt," he added, "with immediate personal needs for their own clothing, and grooming styles; for the use of a car and for occasional sex; dancing and freedom from what they saw as harassment from parents, teachers, and employers." But between 1964 and 1970, maintain social commentators, rock emerged as a total cultural movement (Belz 1972). It was in this era of protest against an unpopular war in Southeast Asia and the threat of atomic holocaust coming on the heels of the Civil Rights Movement that rock groups such as the Rolling Stones and the Beatles voiced youth's protest and, as Eisen characterized the immense appeal of the Beatles, represented a generation in "dealing with identity, illusion, loneliness, and death. . . . its overwhelming sense of anomie" (1969: 133).

The rock of this period became, in many ways, one of the contributions of adolescents to adult society as it became, in Chet Flippo's phrase, no longer "the basis for a culture . . . rather music to be enjoyed without any special importance attached" (1975: 297). From the 1970s on, then, rock music was no

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longer the symbol of the counterculture and became more of an entertainment medium, concentrating on the staging, the costumes, and the sense of nihilism expressed in Punk Rock. *Time* magazine quoted Seymour Stein in 1977:

> The music reflects a mood of total indifference among the young. They feel they had nothing to do with making the world the mess it is today, and they're also not going to do anything to make it any better — because they can't. They come to the music for the sake of the music, for entertainment, for getting it on (p. 47).

Here again there is not complete agreement on the origins, meaning, or effects of rock on value shifts among adolescents. Paul Hirsch, in his "Sociological Approaches to the Pop Music Phenomenon" (1971) maintained that social protest had little empirically measurable influence on teenagers and that most were unable to understand the meanings of the lyrics and were far more involved with the "overall song and the beat." Rockwell (1979) saw long range changes in the American lifestyle as responsible for rock and Mooney (Eisen 1969) called it a "plebianization — to the point of crudeness" which "undermined middle-class decorum." What does seem clear is that whatever its effect was in the ferment of the sixties, it did not transform the society in which it developed.

In retrospect, it is still not possible to definitively declare the existence of a unique and independent adolescent culture in recent decades or in the present. As Bealer, Willits, and Maida (1971) point out, a culture as a social system should contain shared ideals as guides for behavior, and values and standards by which ends and appropriate means to them ought to be selected. With this definition of a culture, what seems clear is that youth and adults do not differ in kind but rather in the degree to which they express and exhibit what is a common culture. What the notion of a comprehensive youth culture or subculture perpetuates is the myth that all adolescents are alike, neglecting and masking the considerable diversity among adolescents and their attachment to their parents' cultural, ethnic, and social class lifestyles. Not only is peer pressure greater in some areas of adolescent life than others, it also varies by gender; girls have been found to be more susceptible to peer pressure than boys (Costanzo and Shaw 1966; Collins and Thomas 1972). What we can conclude from the research literature is that peer pressure is an important but not the major determinant in adolescent life; parental values and attitudes, on the other hand, are evidently more dominant in the adolescent's life than we have generally been led to believe. What we found in our field research is that the relationship between peer-and-parental pressures is much too complex to consider the effects of either individually in the social lifestyles of adolescents in actual communities. A comparison of the patterns of relationships which structure peer groups and which link youth to their families in three very different communities we studied indicates how divergent these lifestyles can be.

Sorting and Turf in and around an Inner-City High School

One unique characteristic of the peripheral area of most high schools is the mobility it provides for students to congregate in ways that they themselves choose. In an inner-city area such as "Southside," a multiethnic section of a large Eastern metropolis, the immediate surroundings of a school can often harbor a fair amount of activity even when schools are closed. Student activity consequently becomes one of a number of general transactions such as shopping, buying food, or using public transportation. The periphery can also provide protection for young persons who might otherwise be brought to the attention of law enforcement officials or irate community residents. Amidst the hustle and bustle of urban life, a reasonable attitude for a passerby or local resident is that the school administration and staff have a responsibility which extends to a nebulous point somewhere outside the walls of the building; student activity, even if somewhat offensive and distasteful to others, can be designated as "the school's problem."

If viewed from this perspective, one can assume that configurations of youth outside the school can be defined and informally established. They have been subject only to isolated instances of regulation by school authorities, law enforcement officials, and/or local merchants during our fieldwork. For the most part, such occurrences have consisted of very sporadic and ineffective attempts by adult representatives with institutional orientations to impose behavioral standards on activity occurring in the public domain. Statements like, "Don't stand in the hallway of my store," "Don't play that radio in this shop," "Don't stand in the vestibule of my store," or "Go throw that frisbee in the park around the corner" are examples of efforts to control student behavior. The force of all these statements is directed at the activity in process. No incidents have been observed or reported by anyone which involved attempts by institutional officials or even passersby to sort students according to criteria such as physical characteristics, ability level, age, sex, or ethnicity.

Youth are given an opportunity to sort themselves into groups on the periphery of the school with a minimal amount of outside interference from adults. This point is particularly significant when juxtaposed with the fact that classroom groupings and scheduling — i.e., their performances immediately after entering the school itself — are assigned by the subject to the discretions of adult teachers, counselors, and administrators. The only practical influence which the school seems to exert upon student configurations in this area is through the definition of which streets will contain most of the transactions occurring on the outside. The entry of students for the first two periods is allowed through only one side of the building, so most persons around Southside High can be found on that side. Later in the day, a different side is used. One finds a sharp increase in the numbers of students who congregate on this street at this time, with practically no persons standing on the former street. Students are not permitted to enter or leave through the other two sides of the building. This regulation notwithstanding, about four or five persons use each of the four illegal entry points during each one of the nine period changes in the school.

Individuals tend to congregate around the building in groups which can be primarily identified through the physical characteristics of the persons in the group. A specific example of this peer association by race and ethnicity is "Josie," a Dominican student at the school:

> Josie's . . . associates are for the most part Hispanic, usually Dominican. She is perhaps typical at the school in her adherence to the strict territorial rules for students — even the sandwich shop where she eats lunch is 'closed' for whites and Chinese. This 'closed' characteristic of her schooling life is all the more essential to an understanding of what it is like to be a student in Southside High School because the quality of life in Southside is much influenced by ethnicity and ethnic perception.

As fieldwork progressed, we discovered that the patterning of configurations is much more complex than it seemed at first. Territorial behavior outside the school, which initially appeared to be a fairly simple and straightforward matter of definition, had actually been subject to considerable revision and changes in perspective. We found that there are a great many more cross-ethnic transactions and interactions than we thought at first. While some areas are routinely occupied by groups that are predominantly Black or white or Hispanic or Chinese, there is no absolute area that is exclusive to any one of these groups; furthermore, some aggregations which appear to be singularly ethnic in composition have turned out to be cross-ethnic. Our general finding is that territorial behavior (establishing "turf") in an informal, quasi-institutional setting is governed by social boundaries among groups as well as institutional constraints and the physical characteristics of the environment. Most importantly, all of these factors are subject to the conditions of the event in which persons are participating. Another example of territorial behavior and its effects on peer group development can be found in the physical space people choose to use during crisis situations. An example is an anticipated fight between students who represent different interest groups. During our fieldwork, only two instances of a confrontation between representatives from two groups, which might lead to a "gangfight," were observed or reported. In one the youths who were about to fight were Puerto Rican. They came outside the school after their efforts to stage a fight inside had failed. In choosing a location for the confrontation, they moved to an area where Hispanic students predominate in numbers. The fight was aborted by two school security guards, even though it is unclear whether the new location was considered to be school property.

This incident differs from the only other instance of group confrontation outside the school in that the latter was between Blacks and Hispanics. Both events were initiated, interestingly enough, through personal conflicts between two individuals inside the school cafeteria. The two instances can be contrasted to show how social and psychological rights to territory are significant considerations in crowded urban areas. During the Black-Hispanic confrontation, a group of fifteen to twenty Black males walked along the boundary of a Hispanic area at one point in an apparent effort to look for those persons they were to fight. Later that same day, a group of twenty to thirty Hispanic males walked up to, but not across, the boundary of a predominantly Black area for the same purpose. The behavior was quite different from that in the all-Puerto Rican confrontation, where there was no hesitation about an acceptable location for the staging of a fight.

Institutional constraints affect both events analyzed above. We have found that on any given day a handful of individuals will spend most of their time at school trying to sell marijuana. Although the same persons are not sellers every day, the procedures they follow are in fact the same. They will all stand outside the school at a location across from the school entrance. Such a place is convenient and appropriate for others in that they are close to the general flow of student traffic inside and they look as though they are merely waiting for one of their classes rather than selling marijuana. There is no place inside the school with such characteristics except, perhaps, the classroom area itself. While this might be an even better location for some youths to sell, it is very poor for all who sell outside the school since they report a distinct disinterest in classroom activities.

Families and Peers in Suburbia

In suburban "Sheffield" (an affluent, upper-middle class suburban community a scant 30 miles outside the metropolis in which Southside is located), the same process of sorting takes place but its dimensions and its relationship to parental influences is quite different. Sheffield is a commuter community where affluence and achievement motivation are obvious. Parents have high expectations for their children and family life is organized around them. In one psychodynamic interview, for example, a 14-year-old girl described the development of social relationships among adolescents and its ties with parenting. In talking about teenage parties she remarked: "Every party last year and the ones I've been to so far this year are just like mine. Parents give the parties and help you decide who to invite."

This same parent-centered social patterning is just as obvious later in adolescence in Sheffield. Lyla, a 21-year-old college student describes how she chose the small coeducational Pennsylvania college she is now attending along with four other people from her graduating class at Sheffield High:

> My parents, particularly my mother, wanted me to go to her college and join her sorority too and I applied there. I went there with her, it seemed like a nice enough place, but Charlene (Lyla's best friend) had decided that she was going to go to (her present college) and we wanted to go together. We both started working on my mother and my mother agreed that we could all go out and look at it and she and my father and Charlene and her parents all drove over together. I was accepted at both schools and my

> mother really tried to influence me to go to her school. I think what finally convinced her was when Charlene was accepted also and my father said that it would be nice for me to have friends from Sheffield with me at college.

In Sheffield, families not only organize social activities for their youngsters but have considerable influence in establishing patterns of social relationship among their children. This begins by the decision to move to Sheffield. A large percentage of Sheffield parents with school-age children have recently moved (five years or less) to the community and the most frequently cited reason is "the schools." Attribution of residential choice to the schools has a number of meanings. Certainly the excellence of the curricular program and the high rate of successful transition to college are factors here, but equally important if not always manifest in conversations with parents is the homogeneous nature of that school population. Sheffield's youngsters are ethnically and socially very similar. There is some economic differentiation among families but it is minimal and the upper and lower levels of that differentiation are not sufficiently distant from each other to produce significant behavioral differences.

The relationship between this homogeneity and the competitiveness which develops from parental pressures on both adolescents and institutions is seen in a number of ways. When we attempted to determine how students separate themselves into groups or cliques and the criteria for success as members of these groups, it was soon obvious that this was not based on appearance or income or even ethnicity, given the homogeneity. The differences we found were more subtle since students appear very much alike. Among high school students in "Shelton," a suburban area near Sheffield which is quite similar demographically, we constantly heard about two major groupings, one called "jocks," the other sometimes called "freaks" and sometimes called "heads."

"Jocks" and "freaks" in Shelton High School. Use of the labels "jock" and "freak" or "heads" at Shelton brings the competition that has existed between the two groups at the school into sharp focus. There has long been tension at the school between the students with long hair and the students on the athletic teams. In an earlier period of fieldwork we learned that when a jock calls a freak a freak (or even a head), he is making a statement about that student's personality that contains basically hostile assumptions, and the same goes for a freak calling a jock a jock. A freak is not very comfortable being called a freak by a jock, but conversely, many freaks are glad to be recognized as freaks by other "freaks" and by the student body in general. If a freak did not want to be recognized as a freak, he would not adopt the dress, manners, and loose lifestyle of the freaks. At the same time, the jocks resent being called jocks, but they are proud of their achievements in athletics.

Describing a student in this way tells something about conflicts among the students, but tells nothing about the students as individuals. First of all, many people do not fit into either of these categories, and even those people who appear to exemplify the freak or jock standard at Shelton will deny that they can be described so simply. In a long interview, a captain of the football team repeatedly denied that he fit any school stereotype of the jock, asserting not only that he has many friends who are considered freaks, and shares interests such as music with them, but that he resents being classified as a jock. The boy told us in great detail about all the hostility that was associated with use of the word jock by the freaks. But his protestations about use of the label were revealing because, as he discussed the issue, it became evident that despite the success he has had in athletics and the resulting recognition he has received and despite his air of accomplishment and pride, he was deeply hurt by the labeling.

While this process of sorting was manifest both in the psychodynamic interviews and in daily observations, it also appears in the scheduled organization of the student's life and in resource allocation in the school. As a consequence of the sorting process, students have certain resources available to them with which they manipulate their roles. By looking at the school's daily bulletin, which is circulated to be read by all the teachers during the first period class, numerous examples of what is valued, and so forms the basis for sorting, can be found. Perhaps no area is mentioned with more frequency than athletics, for which students are permitted to miss class and are excused from school early. While athletics probably gives the greatest number of reasons for avoiding class, participation in other extracurricular activities, such as the H. S. Band and the Student Council Executive Committee, can also be important. And, participation in an extracurricular activity such as the Chess Club means that you get your picture in the yearbook. Note that only certain activities are allowed during the hours classes are held. The differences between what is and what is not allowed define the dimensions of sorting in Shelton.

While other factors such as report cards that have to be turned in and outside-interest-produced assemblies can take away from classroom time, these factors do not necessarily have to do with resources available to the student who holds a specific status as a result of sorting in the school.

Family and Peers in a Rural Community

In rural "Green Valley," a small agricultural community in the Northeast, the relationship between sorting and family and peer influences is considerably affected by geography. The secondary school there draws its students from ten separate communities covering a 50-square-mile radius. This multicommunity population base of the school at one time led to the formation of peer groupings on the basis of the student's community of origin. Not only teachers but students reflected the notion that while students from particular communities tended to band together, the school served a function of developing cross-community relationships over time.

In Green Valley today, the importance of the isolation of the central school from not only the various component communities but from the county seat as well has had the effect of sharpening the relationship between the two major institutional contexts — the family and the school — and peer relationships. One of the psychodynamic interviews with a 17-year-old girl who has lived all of her life in this community illustrates the kinship model which organizes social life here.

> My family has always lived here and so we have a lot of relatives. . . . What makes it difficult is the fact that everybody here knows you and they think of you as part of your family. Even in school teachers will tell me about my cousin so and so who was a good student and I always feel that they don't think of me as a person but as part of a family. It's going to be very hard for me when I graduate because I don't want to live around here but my parents are already talking about my settling down here.

The kinship model is combined with the community of origin model since families are usually congregated in the same general community. It was our impression that terms such as "we're all one family" were much more frequent in Green Valley schools than in our other sites. In the junior-senior high school, for example, there are five "faculty couples" or husband and wife teaching teams. This rather unusual arrangement was explained to us in several ways. We were told that it was part of a conscious policy on the part of the Board of Education to give a family character to the school but we were also told that recruitment of good teachers in a rural area makes the acceptance of what would be considered nepotism elsewhere easier here.

Today, however, the process of sorting within the school seems less geographically based than it was in the past. We found that the dichotomy between "jocks" and "heads," which we had earlier observed in suburban Shelton now seems an important dimension in Green Valley:

Finally, there is a sorting of students into "farm types" and "commuter types." Here the distinction seems to be based on community origins, at least in general terms. Certain townships retain more of the rural character while others have become increasingly suburbanized as old farmlands are broken up into developments. This distinction, however, seems to be a major one not only in terms of peer patterning but also in terms of parental pressures on youngsters. We frequently heard that farm families place far greater emphasis on the work ethic — usually referred to as the old farm work tradition — while the commuter families place greater pressure on students for further career development. The results, we were told, are that both groups of youngsters seem to develop friendship patterns based on this distinction. In this fragmented pattern of peer relationships, the importance of the school as the single nonfamilial institutional context in the community structures peer group formation here.

Analyzing and Comparing the Three Communities

As we look at peer group formation in the three communities, the import of the pattern of integration of the social institutional context seems clear. In the Southside site, the ethnic diversity produces a sorting pattern which parallels the poly-ethnic character of the school. This division by ethnicity, however, must also be considered in terms of the differential family patterns found among the various ethnic groups. What seems important here is that there is not a clear process of development in which youth move from a family-based pattern of psychosocial development through peer group and eventually other institutional contexts. Rather, the family of origin, which in the ethnic residential pattern here is coterminous with community of origin, serves to structure much of the adolescent's relationship with other social contexts. The school serves to bring together the various ethnic groups and peer formation takes on the same character.

The result of this ethnic diversification is that there is no homogeneous pattern which relates all youth to each other. The further result is that the basic pattern of peer organization is one of gangs or as they currently refer to themselves, cliques, or "clicks." The Chinese youth gangs, for example, show a close association with adult society in Chinatown and reflect the familiar system there. Such gangs are highly structured, homogeneous in terms of provincial origin of their families in China, often based on family ties, and serve some important economic functions. The gangs are involved in a number of illegal activities related to the adult "Tong" criminal groups in Chinatown cultural tradition. Black and Hispanic gangs, on the other hand, seem less related to economic functions and serve other needs frequently related to the development of an identity and recognition. A number of these groups have become "graffiti clubs" and go through elaborate processes to write their "marks" on subway trains, buildings, and elsewhere. Here again, the importance of relating sorting to territoriality is obvious in the marks themselves, which usually include the name of the street where the youth or clique lives plus the number or "sign." Cliques also form on the basis of residence in a variety of settlement areas. The high school here draws youngsters from various parts of the city. Thus, even within ethnic groups there are uptown vs. downtown subgroupings which organize peer relationships.

What results from their diversification with contact within the school artificially bringing together a variety of communities is a pattern of conflictual relationships. Peer interaction in such a situation also becomes conflictual. Clothing, posing, and forms of walking are ethnically identified and often exaggerated to make the point. The most frequent type of interaction both within and between cliques is what is called the "snap session" in which a highly structured way of talking and teasing becomes almost a ritual means of expressing hostility. An example of such a "snap session" is illustrative of the stylized pattern of verbal hostility:

> Dennis (a Black) gets into a snap session with Gulli and Sam who are wearing poly-filled jackets that have detachable sleeves.
> "Hey man, what you got"?
> "Check it out, this is 100% down."
> "Yea, alright, but at least these are 100% jacket, where are your sleeves man"?
> "Hey, this is 100% down vest, you ain't got no vest."
> "Yea, we do, see, the sleeves zip out. But how do you stay warm? Look at you, you got two sweat shirts and

> a tee-shirt on, I got a tee-shirt on . . . that's it."
> "Look at the label man, check it out . . . 100% down."
> "Hey, that ain't 100% goose, that says 50% goose and 50% duck."
> "No man, that's 50% rooster."

In suburban Sheffield and Shelton, homogeneity is the principle characteristic of the organization of adolescents as well as of the community. Families here have very similar backgrounds and the lifestyle centers heavily on preparing youngsters for future careers. Much of the peer association here seems to be parentally organized. Our observations in the schools and, as we shall see later, in other social contexts, show a clear pattern of competitive relationship developing even in the elementary schools. The schools, which reflect community and so family expectations, are structured to encourage that competitive spirit. What seems to develop is a pattern of friendship selection based on "best friends" who are essentially noncompetitive with each other. The sorting process works to establish groups of "jocks" and "freaks" as large adolescent sectors which are competitive but not conflictual with each other.

The formation of peer relationships in Green Valley is structured by those same characteristics which seem to dominate so much of social life there: isolation which results in a family-community social structure with the school serving as the only nonfamily institutional locus in which the area's youth come together. Even here, the structure of the school day from 7:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M., with bussing the overwhelming means of transportation, continues the pattern of isolation. Family and school combine to organize the adolescent's psychosocial development. The close relationship between family and community origins carries over into the school, where youth are to some extent sorted by community origin. The influx of "commuter types," however, seems to be changing this and a pattern of sorting similar to what we found in suburban Sheffield is emerging. Yet the strong tendency toward withdrawal is apparent in many of the psychodynamic interviews and manifest in career expectations of the youth. Graduation from high school represents the basis for leaving the rural community.

> All I'm waiting for is to get my driver's ticket, graduate from high school and then get away from here.

III. WORK, SCHOOLING, AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Perhaps the most facile means of describing the transition from childhood to adolescence is to speak of the movement from the world of the school to the world of work. Yet as seems always so with adolescence, the transformation of child-student to adult-worker is confounded by a number of issues. The extension of compulsory education into the late teens and the substantial increase in the number of students in post-secondary-school education have made the school the primary environment for adolescents. In 1900, high schools served only about 10 percent of the adolescent population and as recently as 1940 only one-half attended. By 1980, 94 percent were attending, and about three-fourths of these graduate, 60 percent of whom go on to college, a much higher proportion of adolescents than is true of Western European countries. One-fifth of 18- to 20-year-olds attended college in 1945; by 1980 the proportion was well over one-half. Here again, there is much more behind these social facts. The emergent Amercian ethic of education as the major avenue for social and economic mobility provided a rationale for the surge in the number of young Americans seeking education at all levels. As a result, not only the populations but the functions of secondary education changed dramatically in this century. By the late 1950s, the vision of a comprehensive high school, a single institution which could prepare youth academically, occupationally, socially, and politically was projected by James Conant (1959) and a number of other educational visionaries.

A scant decade later this prospective merging of several institutional contexts into a comprehensive socialization locus for youth was under strong criticism and another decade later, a number of governmental and private commissions were recommending breaking up this concentration of social functions. These criticisms generally reflected different conceptions of the purposes of education, but they also mirrored conflicting views of the needs of adolescents in the context of the needs of society. Such viewpoints range from the perception of the high school as a custodial institution necessary to keep youth off the streets and out of the job market, to critics who deplore the creation of a discrete youth culture with the consequent age segregation and loss of contact with adult society characteristic of mass schooling.

Work and Schooling

While each of these perspectives provides a view of how the various social contexts of adolescence are often at variance in defining the adolescent transition, the relationship among work, schooling, and unemployment is a best case example. The relationship between work and schooling is a major structural determinant of the transition to adulthood. Kimball (1974) demonstrated that in all societies it is necessary for the young to pass through a period of dependency. During this time physical maturity is attained and skills and knowledge necessary for adulthood are learned but the length and nature of dependency vary according to the culture, as does the substance of learning. In our own society, the notion is that if youngsters are not in school learning, they must be doing something productive ("working") or they will get into trouble. As a result, youth unemployment has more than an economic impact, it becomes a major sociopolitical and even moral question for society. It seems almost essential for us to determine who or what is responsible when youth unemployment becomes a social problem. Today, those arguing about youth unemployment continue to debate the locus of institutional responsibility for the problem variously defined as unemployment or unemployability. Does youth unemployment stem from the behavior of youth themselves and their lack of skills and productivity or from institutionalized features of the labor market? The bases for such questions extend back historically to the late 19th and early 20th centuries and are related to the multiinstitutional web which surrounds youth transition.

The conventional explanation of the movement in the youth population from early employment to extended education associates the shift with changes in the level of skills needed for employability and the consequent need for longer periods of education (Landes and Solomon 1972). The argument here is that expanding technology demands greater literacy among employees. There are, however, other indications that the displacement of youth from the labor market was in response to the availability of immigrant labor, so that the enforcement of compulsory education was in the service of supervising displaced youth as much if not more than the need for extended training (Osterman 1980). Whichever view is right, the development of minimum wage and age limitations during the 1930s and 1940s, along with the growth of the trade union movement, further restricted youth from competing with adult workers, albeit for the manifest purpose of producing a more literate work force. High rates of youth unemployment have been a persistent structural feature of the American economy since that time.

Youth Unemployment: Human Capital and Segmented Labor Market Theories

The same post-World-War-II "baby boom" which swelled school enrollment increased the ratio of teenage to adult unemployment when the cohort began to enter the youth labor markets in the mid 1960s. Since that time, fluctuations in both the absolute rate of teenage unemployment and teenage unemployment relative to adult unemployment have resulted from political and economic factors rather than sheer demography. Following an increase in teenage employment during the Vietnam War, the 1970s brought a sharp upturn in teenage unemployment rates as a result of both the weakness of the economy and the persistent factor of teenagers being the first to suffer joblessness during periods of economic stagnation.

The debate over the relative training and custodial functions of schools continues to center on the relationship between work and schooling. The emphasis on career development becomes a primary focus at every level from occupation-oriented college and graduate school programs down the system to the emphasis on the return to basics. It has been widely proclaimed that one aspect of the tremendous growth and expansion of the two year technical and community college is the transformation of the occupational structure in which technical, service, and managerial jobs have increased. Clark, on the other hand, sees this expansion as directly related to the loss of employment opportunities, which leads him to label this latent function of the educational system as a "cooling out" function (1960: 596-577). The continued salience of the issue is illustrated by developments during the 80s.

Human capital theory economists continue to place emphasis on the characteristics of youthful employees as explanatory of their marginality in the employment market. Youthful workers, they believe, are lacking in both schooling and work experience and so are associated with jobs which have minimal requirements, low wages, and high turnover. Consequently, they propose educational and training programs as the most practical solution. Segmented labor market economists, on the other hand, point to the structure and distribution of jobs, with a surplus of individuals available for fewer and fewer jobs so that youth, along with women and minorities, have the least chance to be hired. For them, education and training programs are, at best, short-range solutions which do not attack the basic structural problems of the labor market with policy implications for reduction of non-job-related discrimination as well as reform of the labor market structure.

The conflict continues, then, between two opposing institutional views on the origins and persistence of youth unemployment. The result continues to be a confusion for adolescents and for society in general over the relationships among schooling, work, and unemployment, a confusion which is apparent in the problems of federal youth employment with employment-based vs. school-based programs.

Youth Employment Programs: Education or Training Functions?

The pitfalls of trying to develop a separate and isolated youth employment policy have been illustrated by the efforts of the Comprehensive Employment Training Act of 1978 (CETA). The CETA mandate to train for and/or provide immediate employment for those most deprived of employment has led to operational as well as bureaucratic conflict among government agencies at all levels. This has been most obvious between the world of work and schooling. The CETA mandate contradicts other social trends (the increase in educational credentialing, for example) by creating a new institutional sector. In this process, the new institution finds itself replicating functions of already existing institutions such as the schools and thus comes into conflict with existing values while still facing the same problems.

Much of the debate and many of the policy questions which currently produce tensions between the educational system and the labor market are actually the result of unrecognized or, at least unresolved, conflicts in values resulting from different institutional definitions of the role of education in the transition from childhood to adulthood. In Gregory Squires' (1979) analysis of employment programs and education, for example, there is an explicit juxtaposition of the two competing ideologies on the role of education in American society: cultural transmission and occupational preparation. Squires, whose background has been in the civil rights and employment area, provides a good example of the emphasis on the occupational preparation motif: "The major attractions of schooling have been the greater social and economic rewards which are available to the better educated members of society primarily because of the kind of jobs for which that education qualifies them" (1979: 105).

Educators might reasonably complain that the position which Squires' work exemplifies represents a failure to make a distinction between education and training. If we accept this position, then it must be further assumed that the logical aim of education is to train better for some end. The question still remains, however, not only in the policy papers from government agencies and in the research literature, but in the observed behavior and elicited attitudes of youth themselves: To what end?

The conventional interpretation by government policy makers is of American education as a democratizing force counteracting the inequalities of the larger society and providing the nation with skilled manpower required in modern, industrialized society. The alternative ideology found in the literature is a class analysis that posits a society in which "education has served primarily as an agency of social control to reconcile the class conflicts in a capitalistic economic system in such a way that t[illegible]ominant classes could maintain that system and their positions within it" (Squires 1979: 108). Thus, according to Squires' analysis, the development and expansion of mass public education was "motivated by the concern, on the part of the economic elites, to indoctrinate the masses to accept their positions in society and the legitimacy of the mode of distribution in that society" (p. 74).

The statistical evidence needed to explore and explain these questions is interesting and quite compelling. The reality in American education today is that more people (including minorities such as women and Blacks) are in school for a longer number of years and more money is being spent on schooling both publicly and privately. At the operational level, the issue underlying the interinstitutional conflict is quite clear: Do people get a better job because of the sheepskin or do they do a better job because of the sheepskin? The explanatory tradition of James Coleman and Christopher Jencks finds little or no relationship (Coleman et al. 1966; Jencks et al. 1972). Recent evidence, however, tends to further confound the logic of their argument by pointing out that since employers demand a higher level of education in entry jobs than is actually necessary to do the job, education *does* help to get a job. The force of this argument presents the relationship of education to employment as one in which increased education has not led to more equality of income distribution or increased social and occupational mobility, but rather one in which educational credentialing has served to insure the perpetuation of the values enshrined in the personnel director's office. So, the argument continues; you don't learn job skills in school but you do learn a set of values, behaviors, and motives which the labor market demands. Thus, the educational system serves to socialize youth to the work ethic. A recent ad by a major oil company aimed at future marketing representatives is empirical evidence of this point:

> You need a bachelor's degree to apply. We really don't care what it's in. Because the most important requirements are sales ability and motivation. And those are things you can't major in.

There are some interesting examples in the literature of what happens at the operational level when institutional contexts such as education and employment are in conflict. Absenteeism and high job turnover rates are inversely related to education. So, while overeducation for many jobs might seem to be in the service of education and a luxury for the employer, since he has a more educated labor supply from which to choose, it can actually be dysfunctional and cause more problems for the employer than undereducation. The real issue may well develop out of a different value question, not whether or not schools can set up career training curricula for students, but whether or not they should. Most of the national commissions which have examined secondary education in the last decade recommend removing job preparation and occupational skill training from the high school and placing it in industrial and business settings (see for example, National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education 1973, President's Science Advisory Committee 1973, National Commission on Youth 1980). Educational policy makers and the educational literature also propose another major role for education in American society, that of transmitting the culture, developing the skills of judgement, encouraging creative abilities, and providing cognitive growth for youngsters. Thus, the interinstitutional conflicts persist. Is the only cost-benefit of education to be found in the labor market? Can educational attainment only be measured in terms of financial success? Is education really just for marketability? Certainly it is more difficult to measure and document education's contributions in these areas. Yet, their importance is always visible when social crises for individuals and society threaten the quality of life.

The Multiinstitutional Base of Recent Youth Employment Programs

What is more important in analyzing educational policy in relation to career development is the question of the role of governmental policy in creating as well as attempting to solve not only the problems of unemployment but the problems of school dropouts and academic achievement through youth employment programs. Recent youth employment legislation has been not only a policy response to high levels of youth unemployment but also an indirect attempt to deal with increasing high school dropout rates and declining academic achievement among high school students. Certainly, legislators would do well to consider the complexities of the relationship between job and education before designing future legislation and expending large sums of money for a reconnection of education achievement and the realities of the job market.

The conflict among the web of social institutions which develop the sometimes confusing network of remediation programs for youth is easily documented by an examination of new programs such as CETA which operate in the field and attempt to structure the lives and inner feelings of youth. The continuing assumption that traditional work attitudes such as ambition, achievement motivation, task orientation, persistence, and goal seeking are inherent and that the opportunity structures and appropriate training provided by such programs will result in job motivation and success are open to question. In such an examination, Torsten Husen (1978), among others, sees a new work ethic based on "personal fulfillment, security, and the chance to devote time to rewarding leisure activities" emerging among all classes of youth. Similarly, Cordes and Goldfarb (1978) reporting at the Department of Labor's conference on Youth Unemployment indicated that low job attachment rather than the unavailability of jobs seems to explain current youth unemployment.

While there are obvious conflicts between the school and the workplace which confuse the adolescent transition, with governmental programs confounding as much as reducing the conflicts, other institutional sectors also become involved. The extension of schooling has generally meant a consequent extension of dependency on the family. In addition, it has served to delay entry into the full labor market. These factors combine to develop a pattern of after-school, part-time or summer jobs which is a special youth labor market. One resultant problem is that assessing the true rate of youth unemployment is difficult since a number of such jobs are "off-the-books" and earnings go unreported by youth and their employers. There are also important differences among youth of differing socioeconomic and geographic-demographic backgrounds as is evidenced by the consistently higher rates of unemployment among urban minority youth. The complexity of the interaction among social institutional contexts is illustrated by the fact that since jobs in the specialized youth labor market are frequently the result of contacts made through family and friends, inner-city minority youths have reduced access to those jobs which are available. Some sense of both the complexity and the drama of the relationships among work, schooling, and unemployment for minority youth becomes clear in looking at the results of the observations and psychodynamic interviews which our research team carried out over a two-year period in Southside.

Work, Schooling, and Unemployment in Southside

Throughout our field experience in Southside with a variety of institutional agencies ranging from schools and employment services to settlement houses, and in observations and interviews with adults and youth in their programs, the common focus in this community inevitably was "the problem of youth unemployment." Accepting the compelling statistical picture of youth unemployment as a visible social problem, and the evidence that the problem is most critical among minorities, what appears central in the picture painted by agency professionals is that youth unemployment is connected to a number of other social handicaps within the youth population. Unemployed youth are predominantly school dropouts or low achievers who have no skills for entering the labor market, and many come from broken families. As one probes with agency personnel for explanations, however, interinstitutional conflict also becomes apparent. Teachers and school administrators cite the absence of family guidance and hence motivation as the major problem, while employment service professionals point to the failure of the school to provide adequate basic education and skills for job readiness. Employers usually cite the absence of both skills and motivation, frequently adding problems with child labor laws and their own unwillingness to undertake the extensive training or retraining which would be necessary. This seems more than simply passing the buck, but represents an agency focus on particular institutional prerogatives and expectations for youth. Inevitably this produces similar conflicts in youth in both the structuring and internalization of standards for successful transition from childhood to adulthood.

To some extent, it was an awareness of such interinstitutional conflicts and the seeming inability of individual institutional sectors to deal comprehensively with the problem which led to the passage of the CETA program in 1978. The legislative intent was quite clear in its attempt to bridge institutional slippage from school to workplace by providing jobs and skills, training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed or underemployed adults and youth with the promise that through work experience, counseling, training, and other supportive services, employment opportunities would be maximized. The history of legislative action for youth since that time as well as the operational planning for programs has moved back across that bridge into the school because of the employer's demands for basic skills training and a diploma as a condition of employment. We have numerous examples in our field notes of CETA job developers' complaints; "What kind of a job can I find for a kid with a third grade reading level and if I do find one, it won't be what he expects anyway"; "Frankly, we have to 'cream' and take into the program only kids who can read at an eighth grade level even though you know and I know they can find their own jobs anyway, but there just isn't much that we can do with job placement for illiterates." From employers, we have heard "if he couldn't learn to read in school what assurance do I have that he is going to learn to do the work here," or "Education is not my responsibility."

At the implementation level, the multiproblem approach gets additional emphasis in the programs we have observed. A major factor emerging from our observations and interviews is that the agency focus on developing responsibility and a new self-image as a productive individual, encouraging initiative, and emphasizing skills for future career possibilities leads to an emphasis on job readiness as the major program outcome. The problems here were several. One organizational problem was that there was a discrepancy between the Department of Labor's mandated accountability framework which was formulated in a precise cost accounting system with job placement and retention as the major standards and what we observed and were told at the operational level. At the project level a very different structure of accounting takes place, where staff see their program outcomes measurable by success in personal counseling, instilling motivation, and developing social skills for which the emphasis on quantitative measurement may be counterproductive. We have numerous examples in our notes of informal techniques designed locally to accommodate to the federally imposed guidelines while still getting the real job done.

As we followed agency programs into the field, a number of other problems became apparent. One is the question of the realities of the job market. Most of the youth we followed who did find jobs were employed in subsidized public sector jobs. While this was classified as a "positive termination" or program success, we found some cynicism toward such placement in interviewing agency adults and youth. Agency personnel felt that such placements were "made work." As one agency executive noted, "Everybody knows that the real job world is in the private sector but we can't place our kids there because employers don't need or want them even with tax incentives." And the lesson does not go unheeded by youth themselves. One representative statement by a youngster in an employment program:

> There is something unreal going on here. We spend weeks in class role playing on how to be interviewed on a job, even with television programs showing us how to do it, but all the kids who actually went out on interviews said this was a waste of time. . . . when you get to the interview, the employer just tells you what time to show up the next day to start work because the job developer had set the whole thing up beforehand anyway.

A second general problem was the trainees' lack of knowledge about the job market and how their skills translate into earning power and work status. Many of the youth we talked to either expressed no specific job preference or where they did, listed occupations such as supervisor, professional baseball player, disc jockey, or social worker. The point here is not so much that these levels of aspiration are unrealistic or that they are not to be encouraged. Rather, it is that the discrepancy between what the agency saw as realistic for youth in terms of entry level jobs and the expectations of the youth themselves was finally defeating for both program and participant.

One result was that in a number of programs, this dissonance between program and client expectation leads to an implicit understanding that the stipends paid to youth become an end in themselves and a major motivator for youngsters to remain in the program. A number of the projects we observed made special arrangements to pay participants every week or at least every two weeks because they had come to realize that the stipend served as the chief motivator in program retention rates. This in turn led to additional cynicism on the part of staff who complained about participants who "live off the stipends they get for attending class and never bother with really trying to get a job."

There was a third, more localized problem in Southside. There is a burgeoning underground economy among youth (as there is among adults) for obtaining money illegally or "off the books." The extreme cases were youth who reported that they could earn $50 or $70 per day selling drugs or stolen goods. Others described a variety of jobs which they could hold in small industries and commercial enterprises where they were paid in cash and consequently not subject to withholding taxes, social security payments, or other payroll deductions. In both cases, we were frequently told by youth in Southside that entering training to get a 9-5 job for $3.10 an hour did not seem worth it.

This problem was well known to the agency professionals, who were convinced that Southside youth were almost impossible to work with because they lacked the work ethic. When we look at the behavior and inner feelings of youth through the data from the field research and the psychodynamic interviews, however, a somewhat different picture emerges. A frequent theme in both descriptive and fantasy material in the interviews was a preference for "on the job training" in "the real world" and employment programs which they wanted to do as a lifework as contrasted to school which is "what you do as a kid." In effect, what the psychodynamic interviews seemed to show among Southside youth was little relationship to a past (schooling, family experience), little future for which to plan (employment programs as career development, a career "ladder"), but a strong sense of wanting immediate job fulfillment in the present. In one of the early psychodynamic interviews, for example, a 16-year-old female student in a commercial high school program described her fantasies about working:

> I like to imagine myself finding a job as a secretary to some executive while I'm out on a job placement. He. . . or it might even be a she. . .will say to me "I like the way you work and I'm going to take you on right away. . . I say "I won't graduate for two more years" and he says "that's alright, you will learn everything you need to know here." That's great, I can "earn while I learn and learn while I earn."

This same sense of the workplace as the locus for learning the real job skills appeared throughout the observation and interview materials.

The common assertion by agency professionals that Southside youth are not work oriented also seems to be in conflict with our field experience with youth. Many of them did in fact have jobs but in most cases they were not related to a "career development" process. Jobs youth described to us included working with a disco group, working as a truck loader (and going to night school), working with both an electrician father and a carpenter grandfather, delivering newspapers, and working for the Justice Department.

Finally, there is the question of how "job readiness" issues cited by agency personnel, such as low job attachment and high job attrition on the part of these youth, square with what we have seen and heard in observations and interviews. Essentially, this is the major question of whether high unemployment rates are the result of the unavailability of jobs or the work ideology of youth (or classes of youth) or whether both sets of factors are operative. Throughout the psychodynamic interviews, there is evidence that among Southside youth interviewed, at least, the absence of what Winnicott (1965) called a facilitating environment can lead to an inner sense of dissatisfaction and even alienation on the part of youth who see their life aspirations blocked by a less than accommodating environment. When that environment is characterized by a pattern of conflict among the social institutions which structure it, the internalization of such conflict by adolescence is one of the prices.

In one interview, for example, a 19-year-old Black male college student described his "rebellious" early adolescence in which he skipped school, shoplifted, and stole from newspaper boxes and recalled his feelings that "getting over" (getting money by not working, beating the system) were what the school, the police, and even the community expected of him and that "people are going to see me as a smart nigger for the rest of my life so I might as well behave like one."

Economic and sociocultural change have continued to enclose and segregate youth from the labor market and for urban and minority youngsters, the results have been almost disastrous. Whether one accepts the human capital argument that prolonged education will in the long run lead to better employability or the segmented market theory that changes in labor market characteristics and attendant factors such as job bias are necessary, their plight continues. Bennett Harrison, who has calculated the returns to education for whites and nonwhites in twelve central city poverty areas concludes that "whites in central city poverty areas earn on the average well over twice as much per extra year of schooling as nonwhites" (Harrison 1972: 106).

Schooling as Work in Suburban Sheffield

How a different pattern of relationship among the network of social institutions which comprise a community can produce a much more facilitating environment can be seen in a look at work and schooling in Sheffield. Though Sheffield is a somewhat transient suburb, transient here has a special meaning for both education and work experience for youth. The mobility of parents results from the frequently heard characterization of fathers and their families as "younger executives on the move." Certainly, there seems to be a good deal of movement in and out of the community, which is exemplified by the fact that almost 60 percent of the parents we talked to had lived in Sheffield for less than five years. Their movement from community to community often resulted from shifts in occupational locus with the same company. As a result, any continuity in the education of the youngster was provided by the similarity in educational environments from one suburban community to the other.

There is a second type of mobility, however, which must also be considered. Social mobility in terms of wanting the best possible futures for their children is another characteristic of Sheffield as an educational community. From parents it was expressed most frequently as "college preparation." One parent, for example, described what he looked for in seeking an educational community:

> One of the reasons I chose Sheffield to live in when I moved from Grosse Point was that I had heard that it had a good school system and that almost all the students eventually went to college. I'm not a snob, but it was even more important to hear that they got a number of the high school graduates into ivy league schools. It didn't have the kind of disciplinary problems that you have in big city schools because the people here are so much alike in background.

The same notion comes from teachers and administrators as well. One administrator, for example, described the program at his school as being "parent related." The administrator added that generally the schools are working with a "terrific product." Home environment and parental support are "fantastic," and that makes educational programming much easier. Teachers, for example, feel that there are few problems with discipline because the work schedule in school just doesn't give kids time to "hang out." He concluded by describing parents in the community as having "a corporate mind set" and really asking for ability grouping and levels because it gives them and their kids status. He went on to note that almost all of the parents want their kids in the accelerated classes and added that if they insist, then the school tries to accommodate them even if there is some question as to the student's ability to do the work. Usually, the student will be put in a program on a provisional basis.

How does all of this become internalized in Sheffield's youth? In a number of the psychodynamic interviews the question of mobility and its effect on education was a prominent theme. One male middle school student, for example, described how he'd been in three different communities by the time he graduated from elementary school. His parents, he said, felt the moves were good experience but changing schools must be difficult. They were thinking in terms of learning to work with different teachers and different school work "but what was most of a problem for me was trying to make new friends. The work and the teachers really aren't that different in the places that we lived. But trying to make friends is a real problem. It's worse here in Sheffield than any place I've ever been."

The concept of "educational mobility" associated with "the corporate mind set" is widespread in Sheffield. Essentially, it means that children's educational lives are closely programmed so that "school" and "work" are synonymous. Schooling is seen as the necessary basis for social and occupational futures. This relationship exists throughout the educational program in Sheffield. Even in the elementary school, for example, we found this emphasis. While kindergarten children and first graders mentioned play activities, they most frequently talked about "getting to work," some mentioning reading groups and others going right into math. One third grade youngster mentioned that if you are "smart enough and work hard enough to finish your workbook" before the others, you get to do art work. This type of comment persisted throughout the elementary program into the first years of adolescence, the basic theme being that educational games or "fun" things were given almost as rewards when work was completed and until the other students caught up with the lesson or workbook.

The term most frequently heard throughout the community in describing the behavioral results of this emphasis on work and status in adolescent behavior was "competitiveness." We heard this in a variety of expressions. At one parents' meeting, we were told that asking someone their children's intelligence test scores or even ability group placement was almost as taboo as asking them their husband's salary. We were also told that parents' investment in their children led to considerably more interest in their education than one would find in most communities. When we asked about "investment," the response was that financial and "human energy" pressures from parents, not only on the student but on the school as well, were important.

What results from this emphasis on work and competition can be seen in a variety of school-work relationships. Certainly the socioeconomic status of the parents means that work for adolescents in the sense of paid employment and the consequent notion of unemployment are alien in this community. Many of the kids have "chores" to do, but invariably we were told that homework comes first. The school's conception of discipline is also important. Our observations in the cafeteria in the middle school show that the students waited on line for lunch quietly, picked up their food quietly, and waited for dismissal until a teacher blew a whistle. This disciplining process begins in kindergarten and extends into the academic program, where students quietly march from class to class with virtually no noise. In the cafeteria when the whistle blows, the students stand behind their chairs and wait to be excused until the teacher has checked the tables to see that chairs are replaced correctly.

Southside and Sheffield: A Comparison

A comparison of growing up in Southside and in Sheffield should indicate more than the difference between urban poverty and suburban affluence. There are, in fact, critical differences between how the community of social institutions operates to form a conjunctive structure for the psychosocial organization of the transition to adulthood. In Sheffield, school and community are mutually supportive in producing young people who can compete for a place in college and eventually for success in careers. As we shall see in later sections, each of the other social institutional sectors shares this common goal. Whether one applauds or deplores the development of competitors, there is evidence that mutuality of purpose and approach to structuring the adolescent passage can be accomplished. In Southside, on the other hand, school and community are in conflict and the labor market is critical of the youth socialization and training provided by both. What becomes internalized here is this same attitude of conflict, an absence of a coherent structure which is valued in each of the social institutional contexts which can serve as a guide through adolescence. For better or worse, the Sheffield adolescent is led through the process he or she must negotiate to become an adult and whether there is rebellion or acceptance, the valued behaviors and patterns are explicit and agreed upon in the adult world. In Southside, youth are left to chart their own course or, much worse, to pick a route from among the often confusing signals put out by the family, the peer group, the school, and the workplace. Defeatism, acting-out behavior, and a resistance to any structure are some of the possible consequences. Youth can and do make it even in this nonfacilitating environment, but usually as the result of unusual strength in one of the constituent social institutions — a strong and supportive family system or peer group or a caring school, for example — or because of their own personal ego strength.

The evidence from the policy and research literature, supplemented by what we observed and heard in the field, indicates quite clearly that while youth in general have low employment rates, poor adolescents, particularly when poverty is combined with minority status, have the highest rates of umemployment (Freeman and Medoff 1978). Job satisfaction, both on the part of youth and their employers, seems also to be particularly problematic for youth; youth are more likely than others to leave jobs because of dissatisfaction (Andrisani 1978: 46) while employers tend to view youth as unproductive and unreliable workers

(Richardson 1975: 158). The issue of training programs is still one which seems unresolved. Although some studies indicate that certain types of training and work programs for poor youth do produce at least an initial and sometimes quite dramatic increase in work efforts, these same studies and our field research indicate that it is usually not sustained over time and decreases even more markedly once the youth enter the actual labor marketplace (Maynard 1978, Richardson 1975).

IV. JUVENILE JUSTICE IN COMMUNITY CONTROL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXTS

There are a number of issues relating criminal justice programs with adolescence and extending that relationship to the family, the school, unemployment, and peer association. In fact, entrance into the criminal justice system is one of the major consequences attributed to socialization failures on the part of the various social institutions. One of the results of this assumption is the continuing controversy over the relationship among status offenses and subsequent delinquent and criminal careers. The status offender — the teenage drinker, the truant, the incorrigible, the runaway — is defined by his or her age in relation to association with some defined social problem. Historically, the organizational response has been to treat the status offender as an early or potential delinquent on the way to becoming a criminal. The need for intervention for rehabilitation places the status offender in the jurisdiction of the juvenile court along with the delinquent who has been accused of some criminal act. The policy issue today is whether the courts should continue to maintain jurisdiction over noncriminal misbehavior. A few states have moved to limit such jurisdiction while others have instituted programs to deinstitutionalize and divert status offenders from the traditional criminal justice system. As a result, status offense arrests decreased 30 percent between 1975 and 1980 (National Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse 1982). Not everyone agrees with this movement, particularly in the light of increasing attention to juvenile crime.

Status Offenders and Adolescent Status

The principal argument for maintaining juvenile court jurisdiction over the status offender is that status offenders have special needs and engage in behavior that is predictive of a delinquent career. What follows is a legalistic commitment to intervention by the juvenile court which has a mandate to control juvenile delinquency and so to prevent predelinquents from becoming delinquent. Opponents argue that there is no evidence that there is a clear-cut pattern of career development in crime or that status offenses predict future behavior.

As is the case in many current controversies involving adolescents, the underlying value conflicts reflect the contradiction between the notion of "benevolent protection" and the denial of fundamental legal rights to children. Nineteenth century reformers concerned with social justice were struck with

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children's vulnerability and assumed amenability to rehabilitation, and pressed for a change in the treatment of juvenile offenders and homeless children to reflect a more protective than punitive stance by the authorities. Juvenile court was set up in the role of benevolent parent. It lacked both the formal procedures and the constitutional protections required in adult courts. The notion of benevolent parent included both the concern for rehabilitative nonpunitive treatment of children accused of crimes and the concern for protection of children from moral waywardness in the absence of effective parental guidance and control. It was this latter concern which led to the establishment of the age-graded status offenses. Concern with the legal disenfranchisement of women and children has stimulated a growing controversy in recent years as child advocates press for the extension of human rights to minors.

Status offenses are essentially violations of moral or social standards or norms which are *not* of a criminal nature, do not involve a victim in the usual sense and would not normally elicit law enforcement intervention if committed by an adult. "Incorrigibility" and "moral depravity" are the most controversial because they are very vaguely defined, allowing a good deal of latitude for parental and police discretion in both the reporting and disposition processes. Juvenile justice critics particularly point to the enormous potential for abuses created by the lack of procedural safeguards for individual rights characteristic of the juvenile courts. In 1967, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional for state laws to provide differential sentencing for the same crime by virtue of age, and that juvenile courts were subject to the same due process requirements as all other legal courts. Operationally, however, adolescents and children are still subject to different laws and different treatment under the law than adults.

Determining the level of expenditure for juvenile justice programs is difficult since many educational and employment programs have as their primary or latent goals the reduction or prevention of status offenses and delinquency. The various Comprehensive Employment and Training Act programs, for example, address the relationship between unemployment and delinquency and many educational programs are aimed at preventing school crime, vandalism, and other juvenile misconduct.[1] In 1980, a comprehensive Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program (ODJJDP) was moved from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) where youth advocates claim it suffered from the disfavor associated with that agency to a new status as an independent office within the Justice Department.

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1. The arrest rates for juveniles have increased ever since the end of World War II. More recently, statistics indicate that the number of youth under the age of 18 arrested for crimes rose from 1,661,000 in 1970, to 2,025,713 in 1980 according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They also indicate that in 1960 persons under 18 were reported responsible for 9.3 percent of homicides, 14.8 percent of forcible rapes, 30 percent of robberies, 14.8 percent of assaults, 45 percent of burglaries, 37.4 percent of larcenies, 44.2 percent of arson, and 45.3 percent of motor vehicle thefts.

The major role suggested for the status aspects of juvenile delinquency laws in the literature review is apparent in field data from all of our field research sites. This becomes clear when we compare this aspect of juvenile law in three of these communities in terms of the discretionary character of the criminal justice system's relationship to adolescence. Variations in defining adolescent status and consequently in identifying those behaviors which are considered delinquent were apparent in all of our field sites. Examples such as variations in legal ages for drinking, driving, and other behavioral empowerments are commonplace.

Discretion and Delinquency in Community Contexts

In looking at the observational and psychodynamic interview data in our three communities, however, what is most striking is that the status definition of delinquency has as its immediate behavioral and social consequences the establishment of wide discretionary powers on the part of the criminal justice system. The discretionary process begins with the police officer first encountering the case. Police officers, probation and court professionals, and parents, as well as youth we have interviewed and observed in each community, all stress the discretionary character of the police response to delinquency. At this level, the discretion seems to be part of some complex equation concerning the individual officer's values, the norms of the police subunit within which he is working, the characteristics of the community in which the activity takes place, and increasingly, the officer's estimate of what will or will not be done by the courts in relation to specific individuals.

Deviance and Subcultures in Delinquency

While status offenses are associated only with childhood and adolescence there are other delinquent and criminal acts on the part of youth which are also illegal when committed by adults. Some, such as robbery or arson, differ from adult crime only so far as the age of the individual committing the crime is concerned; others, however, such as crimes committed in schools or criminal acts by youth gangs are usually considered as juvenile crime. This special status viewpoint is clear in the research and treatment literature where there is a dominant theoretical approach which assumes that delinquents and nondelinquents can be distinguished on the basis of social, psychological, or cultural characteristics other than the act of committing a crime itself. As a result, most theories of juvenile crime and delinquency usually argue that these correlates can explain delinquency, and its prevention or control is dependent on society's ability to remediate these problems. One such longstanding approach has been the view that juvenile delinquency is a subculture or contraculture in society and that youth are molded by and responsive to its values and mores. As early as the 1920s, the sociologists of the Chicago School, so-named because of their several studies of crime, delinquency, and social disorganization in that city, proposed that juvenile gangs were the learning centers for urban slum-dwelling youth and that this is where delinquent behavior developed and thrived (Thrasher 1936). Criminologist Edwin Sutherland (1939) explained this learning process as based on "differential association," where youth (and adults as well) were without the means of legitimate success and so learned illegal behavior from their association with others who imparted the necessary skills and attitudes of criminality. This emphasis on the potency of gangs and social disorganization continued with varying emphases, such as Shaw and McKay's focusing of attention on the social disorganization of those parts of the city which housed the immigrant poor, the unemployed, and other dispossessed populations as an ecological source of delinquency and crime (1942).

This perspective of attributing delinquent or deviant behavior among youth to the values and norms of the community organization of the area in which they live continues today as cultural deviance theory. Essentially, it sees delinquent behavior as learned through the cultural transmission of deviant and criminal values in identifiable areas or neighborhoods in which high group rates of such behavior persist over time. The area may suffer from social disorganization, with conflicting conventional and criminal value systems, with consequent conflict between and among those social contexts which form the normative network for growing children and youth, or the culture or subculture of the area may simply be antagonistic to the dominant societal values. The forms and sources of such deviant norms have been differentially identified by a number of social scientists. Miller (1958), for example, concluded that lower-class culture values elements such as toughness, trouble, and excitement which are aspects of the milieu of socialization for delinquent behavior. Cohen (1955), on the other hand, sees delinquent behavior as essentially a form of rebellion by lower-class youth against middle-class values and standards. So, while Cohen views delinquents as caught in the cultural conflict of criminal versus conventional norms, Miller would describe them as the normal byproduct of lower-class culture.

Still another view, proposed by Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1982), describes a "subculture of violence" as predisposing to delinquency youngsters in communities which encourage or even demand violence for survival, establishing a cultural environment where it is tolerated or even prescribed in interpersonal relationships. Of particular interest, however, are two points of view which place cultural deviance theory in a community organization and social learning context. Cloward and Ohlin (1960), in their community organization formulation of a "delinquent subculture" theory of delinquency, emphasize the opportunity structures for either legitimate or illegitimate behavior found in different types of communities. If the community is organized against crime, then youth can utilize available legitimate means to achieve important life goals; if it is organized for crime, with pressures and opportunities to engage in illegal means of attainment, then youth either cannot utilize legitimate means or must be effectively socialized to seek them out. Youngsters learn from a tradition of criminal behavior, which further disorganizes the area perpetuating the problem.

In a similar approach, Sutherland and Cressey (1970) return to Sutherland's earlier (1939) concept of "differential association" in which delinquent behavior and criminal norms are learned in cultural configurations in which some elements encourage and others discourage opposition to the accepted social norms. Youngsters who have more association with values which are procriminal than with those which oppose criminal violation are thus predisposed to delinquent behavior. In essence, an individual is more likely to become a delinquent if he or she has more criminal than noncriminal associations and is part of a society or culture with "differential group organization" where criminal and noncriminal values are in conflict.

Cultural deviance theory in general, and the social learning and community organization elements of this approach in particular, have been further advanced by the work of a number of criminologists, particularly by the social learning emphases of Akers (1977). This essentially behaviorist view that the consequences rather than the prior causes of behavior are deterministic of what youth will learn and its contingent emphases on rewarding conforming behavior and not rewarding or negatively reinforcing deviant behavior has provided a rationale for planning in actual program implementation.

Deviance and Conformity in Community Contexts

The differential association theorists could use the following examples from our three communities to illustrate their beliefs. Artie Rivera, a 19-year-old Hispanic high school student living in Southside has been interviewed by a number of scouts from major league teams and his great hope is that he will become a professional baseball player. Artie has also had a number of criminal justice encounters and is now on five years probation after being convicted of burglary and armed robbery.

> ... In describing his neighborhood, Artie talks about the necessity of getting out of it if he is to survive. When he walks out of the house in the morning numerous age mates who are his contemporaries but no longer in school stop him and suggest a variety of activities in which he should join, ranging from robbery to just "hanging out." He described the difficulties he has in saying no because they feel that he is losing his "macho" and wasting his time in school. In one dream he described being in a burning building and being unable to escape because of having to look around in the building for his parents. In association to the dream he described his having set his apartment building on fire a number of years ago because of difficulties in the building and had stored some furniture (which he and some other youths had stolen) in the basement, and someone had taken the furniture. He knew who had taken the furniture and yet felt powerless to do anything about it since there was no way in which he could establish ownership. He set fire to the apartment of the man who he was certain had taken the furniture but the fire spread to the rest of the building. He also remembered that his

> father had told him that in Puerto Rico setting fire to a neighbor's field was one way of avenging a wrong.

Bruce Megan is an 18-year-old high school student in Sheffield. He plans to be a dentist.

> . . . Bruce described his first experience in Sheffield and how difficult he found it when he wanted to become part of the community. He found that there was already an established pattern of relationship which seemed to be based upon "best friends" and on coming into contact in a variety of social activities which bind groups of best friends together. What seemed most interesting to him was that all of the parents in his neighborhood seemed to know who was whose best friend, what patterns of relationship existed among friendship groups and had a sense that there were places and activities where they could "relax when the kids were there because they knew that some adult they trusted would keep an eye on them."

Jill Pelegrino is a 17-year-old student in Green Valley. She has no plans as to what she would like to do "when and if" she graduates but thinks she would like to leave Green Valley and work in a larger community.

> . . . Jill talked about her friends in Green Valley and how they know everything and everybody in the area. "Whenever we go out we know that there aren't that many places to go around here so one or the other of us tries to arrange to be with somebody who has a car. None of us can drive yet and so that usually means some guy who has a car. Then we drive into Rhinebeck or even to Poughkeepsie and hit some of the bars where they don't know us and where they don't ask for our IDs." She went on to explain that "you have to have access to wheels" because there "just isn't anything to do in Green Valley. Whenever anyone asks where we are from we usually don't tell them we're from Green Valley."

Behavioral and Social Controls

There is another perspective on juvenile delinquency which, like cultural deviance theory, sees socialization of youth as the *sine qua non* of what leads to delinquent and criminal behavior. In this approach, which is aptly called "control theory," the basic assumption is that it is inadequate or ineffective socialization which leaves the individual free to become involved in delinquent behavior. Unlike cultural deviance theory, which proposes that youth become effectively socialized but to deviant rather than conformist values and norms, control theorists see improper socialization leading to nonconformity to any set of values or norms. In essence, cultural deviance theory places the onus on the deviant or criminal culture to which the youth becomes socialized while control theorists would maintain, as one leading proponent of this approach did, "If we grow up 'naturally,' without cultivation, like weeds, we grow up like weeds — rank" (Nettler 1977). Other control theorists have also cited the failure of external controls or constraints to produce internal moral controls as a result of the failure of socialization processes. Reiss (1951), for example, sees "the failure of personal and social controls" as responsible while Sykes and Matza (1957) and Matza (1964) find that individuals rationalize or "neutralize" the moral sanctions or controls of the moral order, thus freeing them to break the law. The logical extension of control theory is best exemplified in the work of Hirschi (1969) which predicts the development of delinquent behavior in youth when the bond to society is diminished or destroyed. Hirschi goes on to specify the elements of the bond to society as internalized attitudes of attachment, belief, commitment, and involvement. These sentiments should be fostered by and so anchored in the essential units of social control in any community — the family, the school, and the law. He proposes a sequential process in which the individual finds attachment in relation to the family with the school providing commitment to a pattern of educational and occupational goals and the development of a belief in the rules and laws of society which produces an involvement in conventional activities in adult as well as child and youth statuses (Hirschi 1969: 198-200). The delinquent is the individual who has failed to successfully negotiate this course and so feels no obligation to conform to a moral order of social controls to which she or he feels no bond. Delinquents are the product of a faulty or incomplete socialization which results from poor or absent parenting, school failure, and attendant prospects of occupational failure, relationships with delinquent peers, and the problem of an uncaring, unresponsive, and even questionably legitimate governmental and legal system. For control theorists, no special causative features or motivators are necessary to explain delinquent behavior; such behavior is only to be expected of the incomplete social being who results from ineffective social controls.

Community Patterns of Institutional Integration in Social Control

The control theory literature argues that adolescent contact with socializing agents such as the family or the school, which stress individual responsibility and self-evaluation on the part of youngsters, is a major aspect in reinforcing positive moral and legal behavior. We have considerable data from the three communities which indicate the importance of the relationship among these socializing institutions in developing a positive attitude toward law enforcement. Observation and the psychodynamic interviews support the impression that in Southside, many of the youngsters who seem to be in difficulty come from broken homes. On the other hand, it was pointed out by a number of school and criminal justice professionals that Sheffield families appear to be intact or "solid" but are in many aspects "bent or broken." Many fathers, we were told, and this was supported through observation and interviews over the past year in Sheffield, are so caught up in their careers, spend so much time commuting to and from the city and flying around the country on business, that many Sheffield families could be described as "fatherless," because business and social commitments left fathers rarely at home. In Green Valley, there is a sharp distinction between the "old time" residents who are the remnants of the primarily agricultural economy of the area and the newer residents who work for the nearby business-industrial economy firms such as IBM or chemical and dairy equipment plants. The old time residents show an "ingrown, extended family pattern" from which many of the youngsters interviewed are seeking escape. The more urbanized families of the newer residents seem similar to the structure and pattern we saw in Sheffield. What seems to differentiate the communities is not family structure alone but the presence of, and more importantly the integration of, other social institutional contexts within which a structured socialization can develop. In Southside, agencies are largely in conflict in terms of social learning. Settlement houses frequently offer remedial education programs and there is obvious antagonism between the community and the police and the community and the schools. In Sheffield, there is a close integration among various social settings, with families, the police, and school, and other social agencies integrated through overlapping membership and as a result of the consonance of their social learning content. Throughout our interviews in the criminal justice system, the importance of the school was highlighted in relation to delinquency: "If a student is doing well in school, he or she is far less likely to get into trouble." While both the Southside and Sheffield criminal justice systems make use of "diversionary" programs to deal with youth as an alternative to incarceration, there are significant differences between the two. At the ideological level the most cited reason for such diversionary programs in Southside is overcrowding of court calendars and correctional facilities as well as the resistance to placing youth in situations where criminal careers can be established. In Sheffield on the other hand, the reasoning is much more related to the importance of other social institutional settings for social learning. The criminal justice system there explicitly views the school, the family, the church, and other social agencies as being the first step in dealing with wayward adolescents. Morever, they see close linkages among these institutional contexts as the basis for good moral and legal learning. A wide variety of sports, and recreational and counselling programs are available to which kids can be referred. In Southside, a youth enters the criminal justice system by being brought to the attention of the police officer, after which several things can happen. The youth can be released to the care of his parents or guardians; he can be returned to a specific agency or authority such as the probation department or a residential service program; he may be referred to special counselling or treatment services by the police or eventually by the courts, or the case may go to the court for prosecution. Cases referred to court are handled either by the family court or by the criminal court, usually based upon the age of the youth. There is now considerable controversy, however, over whether the seriousness of the offense rather than the age of the perpetrator should be considered in the decision. Under newly enacted juvenile offender laws, cases involving serious felonies by youth under 16 are handled as

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adult cases by the criminal court which may, however, refer them back to the family court. Recently, proposed legislation would also amend the education law, family court act, and social services law to make dropping out of school without written authorization prior to graduation from high school a "person in need of supervision" (PINS) offense for individuals between 16 and 18 years of age. Currently PINS jurisdiction covers only those under 16 and it is estimated that if the law is enacted this could bring in as many as 75,000 new cases to the family court. What is important in this context, however, is the use of criminal justice agencies to enforce youth behavior because of the perceived inability of the school system to deal with the problem of dropouts.

In Sheffield a youth may also become involved in the criminal justice system through apprehension by the police, but once again the web of social institutions comes into effect so that the youth is dealt with as a community-wide responsibility rather than a deviant individual to be remanded to the criminal justice system. There are a number of factors which could explain this. One is the fact that in Sheffield the police are an integral part of the community, while in Southside they usually live elsewhere and are to some extent alienated from the community. Another factor may be the sheer difference in size and diversity of population in the two sites. What seems most striking, however, is the coming together of social institutions in Sheffield when a youngster gets into difficulty. Sheffield has its own citizen-based Juvenile Conference Committee (JCC) which is "mandated to deal with the vast middle ground of juvenile behavior, neither harmful enough to require adjudication, nor innocuous enough to be overlooked by the community." This committee can make a number of recommendations concerning disposition of a case. Even this community-based approach, however, is only one aspect of a larger, multi-institutional community approach to dealing with delinquency. Project Community Pride, for example, is a police-operated program covering Sheffield and two neighboring communities in which youth receive family counseling along with their parents, as well as work assignments, church referrals, or school counseling. Youth in Sheffield are seldom actually sent to court and most of the disposition of cases occurs before any court appearance. What takes place in these courts, however, is similar to what takes place at the juvenile conference and police levels; youth are "reassigned to the community," as the juvenile judge puts it. There are two levels of meaning here. First, the youth is literally returned to the community, since the court is actually in the county seat and the local police term for referral to the court is "sent out of town." But more importantly, the notion that the youth is being "reassigned" to community agencies for resocialization is very strong. The detective in charge of juvenile programs in Sheffield commented frequently on the "informal community network" which surrounds the youngster who gets into trouble. "There is no question that the kids who get into mischief or even serious trouble in Sheffield are started on criminal careers. Sending them to court or institutionalizing them would be a step in that direction since they would lose the close community support once they left." State correctional institutions, he went on to explain, are crowded with the worst kids from a nearby large city with a predominantly

Black and Hispanic population and "our kids just can't survive in those institutions because they aren't tough enough compared with the others." The interaction of the social agencies is seen in a number of ways. In interviews with the superintendent of schools, for example, he often referred to a number of church-based youth programs as places where the school programs were buttressed with good social experiences. The police we interviewed also mentioned these same social agencies (the detective who is responsible for juvenile justice works closely with them) as places where "kids who get into trouble can get a firm hand while being in contact with a lot of good kids at the same time." The most extreme form of criminal justice sanction, according to educational and criminal justice professionals we have interviewed, is to remove a youth's driving privileges. This can be done in Sheffield by the police, by the Juvenile Conference Committee, or by the judge. This is an example of the community-wide coherence of institutions since the removal of the license is an informal process which takes place for any infraction whether or not it is related to driving. Thus, a youth who is apprehended for possession of a criminal drug substance, is chronically truant, or incorrigible at home can have his driving privileges removed and this action will be supported by the school, the family, and other social institutions.

Green Valley's isolation from the county seat and lack of public transportation access also conditions its juvenile justice experience. In fact, the county's juvenile justice plan begins with an explanation of the "influence of topography on its services." This physical isolation is combined with a psychosocial isolation as well. We were told repeatedly by juvenile justice program officials in the county seat that they really didn't know much about Green Valley. Again, they cited the remoteness of the region and the people of Green Valley to any outside influence. As the conversations continued, however, it became apparent that there was also a feeling that the youth of Green Valley are adequately "controlled" by their families and communities and that with the exception of vandalism and minor theft, the juvenile crime problem there could not be expected to match the problems faced in the county seat as a result of its multiracial population. The county probation officer not only agreed with this assessment, but extended it. Green Valley, she said, handled juvenile justice problems — both status offenses and delinquent behavior — in the way they should be handled: the formal juvenile justice system is "the court of last resort" for Green Valley. Only when all local resources fail is there any consideration given to turning to the youth authorities. The folklore of America, she added, sees this as the tendency of the small rural community to "hide its dirty laundry from outsiders" and to take care of its own. This is not true, at least in what little experience she had with Green Valley. Certainly, the town was not interested in publicizing any problems but the fact is, there just aren't any major ones. Given the small size of the community and its relatively stable population, just about any problem can be handled and sanctioned locally. After giving some examples of the chaotic criminal justice problems in the county seat, she added again that Green Valley's informal social controls were really the only way to handle juvenile problems.

Community leaders in Green Valley tend to agree with this assessment, both of the success of their own approach and the magnitude of the problems in the county seat, not to mention places like New York City. Green Valley's chief of police, who like the other police officer is only part-time, cites vandalism as the major juvenile problem in the community. The state police, who also have local jurisdiction, also think vandalism is the major problem but add that drug problems are growing with the influx of nonfarm families (i.e. outsiders). While both the local and state police agree that marijuana is the only drug problem, the state police hint at the beginning importation of harder drugs, again as a result of more "street-wise" youth moving into the community from outside. The local police explain that they know every family in town and that any problems with youth are immediately brought to the attention of their families which "usually takes care of it." Once again, however, when we spoke with the state police they mentioned growing problems with youth who have recently moved into the community.

There is also a close working relationship between the local police and the school. Unlike Southside, where the police assess most of the blame for juvenile misconduct on the family and the school, the police here see themselves as agents of those two institutions. The police chief spoke with pride of the good work being done by the counselors in the school and how the discipline there contributed to both learning and good citizenship. In large measure, he said, this also results from the kind of conservative, farm work ethic in the town. Later, however, he also commented on how the new families are bringing change. These more affluent families, he said, provide automobiles for their children much more frequently and much earlier than the older traditional families. Kids in cars, he said, get into trouble. They are out of the control and sight of the community and learn to drink and get into trouble. In Green Valley there is a curfew which requires youth to be off the streets by 11 P.M. It was instituted a few years ago to combat vandalism. There is also a recent ordinance banning the drinking of liquor or beer on public streets. In the old days, we were told, the family and community pressure would have been sufficient sanction.

In summary, the relationship between social institutions and their agency subunits and individual adolescents show some similarities but are organized quite differently in the three communities. In Southside the various social agencies — the police, the school, the family, and other social agencies such as settlement houses — relate as independent agencies with individual adolescents or groups of adolescents. What emerges in Southside is a picture of social institutions in disharmony and disequilibrium and, in not a few cases, in conflict. As we saw in the psychodynamic interviews, this can become internalized in youth as a conflict in social contexts in the search for structure.

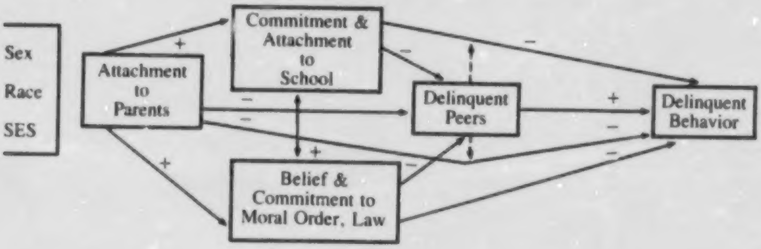
In suburban Sheffield, on the other hand, the community of social institutions is available as a community of socialization for youth. There is wide interchange among the various social institutions and youth operate concurrently in a number of these. Here the structure is explicit and the ethos of the structure is harmonious among the various institutional contexts. The observational data are reinforced by psychodynamic interviews in this community, which indicate that internalization of the structure is similarly harmonious; they see the community of socialization as an explicit process of equilibrium.

Rural Green Valley seems to be uncomfortably in transition between these two extremes. The decline in the agricultural base, the availability of transportation within the area and to places outside, the influx of more urbanized "outsiders" which produces a form of "rural industrialization," and the consolidation of the junior-senior high school which erased village boundaries for social interaction among youth, combine to create a disequilibrium. To some extent this is the result of the discongruity between the developing urban life and the essentially rural demography. Social services as well as criminal justice systems are centered in the socially as well as physically distant county seat, so that youth relate to these extrafamily, extraschool and extracommunity services and programs as individuals. To a lesser extent, however, this lack of a cohesive socializing community for adolescents seems to be the result of conflict between the traditional, agrarian ideology and symbolism which saw the family and the school as the sole source of socialization and the emerging role of other more external socializing contexts of public institutions.

Socialization and the Integration of Control and Deviance Theories

As was apparent in the earlier described conflict between human capital and segmented labor market theories of youth unemployment, the operational implications of cultural deviance and control theories of delinquency lead to some differentiation in approaches to prevention and remediation programs. The control theorist maintains that since youngsters become delinquent because of inadequate socialization, the most effective way of dealing with delinquency is to enhance the control effectiveness of those institutions — the family, the school, and the law — which are primarily responsible for socialization. The strategy here is one of institutional change. Cultural deviancy theorists, on the other hand, would urge developing a community organization model against delinquency since it is socialization to nonconformist, criminal, and deviant values and norms which socialize youngsters to delinquent and criminal careers. Here the strategy would be one of community action to coalesce both youth and adults into programs which strengthen relationships with conventional groups and work to coopt or disband groups which are antithetical to conventional values and norms. Despite these seeming differences, the strong emphasis each places on socialization makes an integration of the two theoretical approaches possible and has produced a comprehensive social development model of delinquency and its prevention which has considerable explanatory and predictive power (Bahr 1979; Johnson 1979; Hawkins and Wall 1980; and Weis and Hawkins 1981). A comprehensive and functional model of delinquency which accomplishes this integration has been prepared by Weis et al. (1980) as part of a report designed to aid practitioners, researchers, and policy makers to understand delinquent behavior and to point to a strategy for prevention.

A GENERAL MODEL OF DELINQUENCY: INTEGRATION OF CONTROL AND CULTURAL DEVIANCE THEORIES



The theoretically and empirically most important *units* (family, school, law, peers) and *elements* (attachment, commitment, belief) of socialization are depicted in the *causal order* of relationships among these variables. (The arrows and valences indicate the direction of the relationships, the causal chain moving from left to right with a [+] indicating a positive association and a [−] indicating a negative association between variables.) Briefly, the model shows the kinds of relationships among the units and elements of socialization as proposed in control and cultural deviance theories. Socialization within the family will be affected differentially by sociodemographic background variables, which for heuristic purposes are outside of the direct causal relationships but may influence the development of attachment to parent, and more directly by the community context. For example, research has suggested that boys and girls are socialized differently within the family, that there may be cultural variation in family organization and concomitant socialization experiences, and that child-rearing practices vary across socioeconomic class (cf. Burr et al. 1979). The development of attachment to parents will take place within the context of these types of sociodemographic "givens" — a child is born male or female and into a family unit with certain socioeconomic and cultural characteristics. And characteristics of the community where that family resides will interact with both the socialization of and consequences for the child.

Theoretically and empirically, the development of attachment to parents will lead to commitment to education and attachment to school, and to belief in and commitment to the conventional moral order and the law. These attachments and commitments to, and beliefs in conformity, or what Toby (1957) refers to as stakes in conformity, are intercorrelated and in turn directly prevent a youngster from engaging in delinquent behavior and indirectly prevent delinquent behavior by "insulating" a youngster against delinquent peer influence. Involvement with and attachment to nonconforming peers is directly related to delinquent behavior and also conditions the effects of family, school, and law on delinquent behavior by reinforcing the inclination to engage in crime among those youngsters who have low stakes in conformity.

Clearly, a *dynamic* multivariate causal model of delinquency is desirable for theory and prevention. A dynamic causal model and its derivative implications for prevention should be responsive to the direct and interaction effects among variables *over time*. In the most general sense, the different *causes* of delinquency have different effects at different points in time in a youngster's life. More specifically, it is clear that the causal power of the important units of socialization varies by the age of a youngster. It is not chronological age but rather institutional age that is most salient (cf. Simmons et al. 1973). Children move through a number of significant "institutional passages" in their social development. These passages demarcate "stages" in the life of a youngster during which different units of socialization are more important. These stages are mapped primarily by the education system: preschool, primary school, intermediate or junior high school, and high school. For preschool children the family is the most significant unit of socialization; when a child begins school in the primary grades, the school becomes an important socializing institution; beginning in junior high school, the role of peers in socialization increases and becomes even more important as a youngster moves into high school.

The first socializing institution in the sequence, the *family*, is of primary importance from birth until youths enter school. Opportunities for involvement in certain roles in the family plus specific parent skills lead to rewarding family involvement for children. Rewarding involvement leads to attachment to parents. This attachment influences subsequent school experiences and belief in the moral order.

School becomes an important institution during the years from school entry until graduation or dropout. Opportunities for involvement in certain school roles, consistency of expectations in the school environment, and teacher and child skills predict academic success experiences, attachment to school, and commitment to education. These, in turn, enhance belief in the moral order, inhibit association with delinquency-prone peers, and prevent delinquency. School's influence may decrease differentially depending on academic success, school may decrease in importance and employment increase in importance earlier than for students who are successful and rewarded in school.

During adolescence, *peers* become increasingly important to the socialization process and continue to be important through high school. The critical consideration is the extent and nature of delinquent involvement among peer-groups in the school and neighborhood. For a portion of the youth population, especially those who do not experience rewarding involvement in school, *employment* may become an important socializing force from later adolescence on. Entry to jobs which have career prospects and which offer learning opportunities is important. Finally, the *community* provides the context which influences behavior *throughout* the process of social development.

Obviously, this simple model does not include all of the variables or relationships proposed by the two theories. To do so, the model would include at least sixty variables (Henney 1978). Neither does the model depict the *processes* by which the various components of the bond to conformity are developed. The effects of the intervening process variables have important consequences for delinquency theory and prevention. These processes occur with minor variations in *each* institutional setting encountered during social development (family, school, peer group, employment).

Delinquency and the Social Order of the School

Educational handicaps have long been associated with delinquent behavior and in the early part of this century, the notion of "mental incompetence" (i.e. the inability to control action and anticipate consequences) was associated with the realization that persistent offenders tend to have less education and generally have done poorly when in school. The sociological literature continues to implicate school failure experiences in alienating the youngster from conventional achievement goals particularly when lower-class cultural orientation derogates academic goals. Much more attention, however, has been given in recent years to the role that schools themselves contribute to the delinquency and disturbance within them and the relationship between the school and delinquent careers. The extent of school crime is a controversial topic since the definition is so tenuous. Activities ranging from disciplinary problems, through disruptions, to actual serious crimes tend to be lumped together under that term. What is clear, however, is that any disruption of academic and social development in schools is doubly problematic since it not only interferes with cognitive development, it hinders socialization to societal norms and both problems have implications for the individual and for society which reach into adulthood.

If we do not have clear evidence on the nature and extent of school crime and on its relationship to crime and delinquency outside the school, there is considerable evidence from recent research that school governance is the major factor in determining the level of crime and disruption in schools. Results from the federally-funded Safe Schools Study (National Institute of Education 1978) as well as other research were summarized by Ianni and Reuss-Ianni (1979):

> Collectively, the governance procedures which mold and shape behavior are usually expressed in school rules and regulations. More importantly, however, as we found in our research and as has been reaffirmed in most of the recent research literature, they are even more frequently (if more subtly) to be found in the informal structure or social control which describes the sense of order and commitment to the educational purposes of the school. Thus, the importance or lack of importance attributed to academic excellence, the structure of order, and the development of an identification with the mission of the school or what we called "school spirit" earlier are, we believe, the important components of the governance structure of a school.
>
> There is abundant evidence from the Safe School Study and our own research that school governance is the major factor in determining the level of crime and disruption in schools. When school governance is measured by students' perception of the school as maintaining order and teachers' perception of their ability to maintain order in class, there is less dollar property loss in those schools which show positive relationships. Where there is good coordination and mutual support evidenced between administration and faculty, there is also less property loss. Conversely, where teacher behavior indicates a lack of respect for

> students and where there is strong competition among students within a school, property loss measured in dollars tends to increase. Also, school crime and disruption are reduced in schools where students express an ability to identify with the teacher, report having access to teachers, and where ethnic and racial harmony are high . . . we found that the principal's ability to initiate a structure of order in the school was equally important. In every successful school we examined we found that the structure of order which represents the enactment of the governance system was described as "fair, firm, and most of all consistent." In the same schools we found a structure of order and governance philosophy. It is interesting that this finding complements a number of recent research findings which indicate that a firm, fair, and consistent structure of order is an important determinant of success in many areas of education, from the teaching of reading to the establishment of a school climate conducive to learning.

The emphasis on socialization in both causal theory and remediation programs relates youthful crime and deviance quite directly to the major socialization agencies of the family, the school, and the peer group. Still at issue, however, is the relative importance of each in the development of delinquent patterns in youth. More directly, for those who seek to find the responsible institution, all three have been labeled as responsible by some combination of researchers, the media, and the public while others see one or the other as more directly responsible or irresponsible as the case may be. Each of the institutional sectors seems to add to the problem by alternately citing its own major responsibility for socialization to values and norms on the part of adolescents while at the same time citing the failures or inadequacies of the others in allowing deviant and delinquent values and norms to develop. Interestingly, adolescents themselves seem to mirror the diversity of views presented by the research literature on juvenile delinquency. The Minnesota Youth Poll (Hedin, Wolfe, and Arneson 1980) found in their unstructured questionnaire study that high school students in rural, urban, and suburban areas saw juvenile delinquents as kids who get into trouble as well as troubled kids; as coming from rich families as well as poor families but essentially coming from any family that does not care about them; as being the victims of peer pressure; as having special needs and psychological maladjustments but also as not being very different from themselves except (particularly in urban areas) that they happened to get caught. They described recidivists or repeat offenders as being more personally responsible for their actions and, in general, delinquents were feared by rural students, held in contempt by surburban students, and often seen as normal by urban students. Their prescriptions for preventing and curing delinquency were that better and closer family relationships with more discipline and trust are the best preventive means while growing up and seeking professional help are the best ways to end delinquent careers.

V. OTHER SOCIAL CONTEXTS

The family, the school, the workplace, the peer group, and the criminal justice system are major organizers for the transition to adulthood in the community. There are, however, a number of other contexts which are sometimes cooperative and at others competitive or even conflictual with these major contexts. Some, such as the mass media, are essentially extracommunity in origin and national in orientation while others, such as the church or the social agency, are local although sometimes serving a regional or national coordinating center. Each can and sometimes does have a major role in shaping and sustaining a set of values and norms for the adolescent. Usually, however, they are significantly related to one of the major social institutions in some fashion. Religion, for example, is closely associated with parental practices and family belief systems (Parker and Gaier 1980). Even in the unusual cases such as the youth-oriented religious cults, where there is a conflict between parental and youth belief systems, the frequent examples of parents attempting to remove their children from the cults for "reprogramming" are indicative of the strong tradition of family-church relationship. Generally, religious institutions are also part of the social fabric of the community or even the neighborhood and so are responsive to the localized lifestyle. In fact, the research literature indicates that cults which attract adolescents not only convert their recruits from traditional religious institutions, they usually attempt to indoctrinate youth to reject their families and their values and traditions to seek membership in the "new family" of the cult (Schwartz and Kaslow 1979). Other social contexts, such as the media, are not usually part of the community but concerns about the mass media manipulating mass publics have been focused on youth, particularly in recent decades. Questions and issues about youth culture, subculture, or contraculture inevitably point to the role of the media in cultivating if not creating a transitional youth culture as a lucrative mass market. While it is not possible to look at the full array of "other social contexts" which play a role in the psychosocial organization of adolescence in communities, two such contexts — the social agency and the media sectors of television and juvenile literature — are, I believe, illustrative of the range of influences involved.

The Social Agency in Adolescent Life

Social or "voluntary" agencies have a long and intimate relationship with charity and social welfare in a social amelioration role where the major social institutions were unwilling or unable to provide necessary help and guidance (cf. Hogan and Ianni 1956: Ch. 5). In their initial formulation, religiously or socially motivated collectives of well-to-do citizens volunteered time and money to work with poor and unfortunate fellow-citizens to alleviate various social problems. Of special interest were the problems of children, and child welfare has always been a major concern of social agencies. Lasch (1979) has described how these turn-of-the-century social agencies began the process of appropriation of parental functions through the adoption of a medical model of preventive social health care and the treatment of "social pathologies." This was, he points out, also the era of the development of "the helping professions," which have helped to justify the continuing expansion of health, education, and welfare services (Lasch 1979: 15-19). What eventually took place was the creation of a new institutional sector which in the course of time turned from individual giving toward governmental subsidies as a basis for support. Whether community or governmentally supported, what is important here is that the social agency and the range of professionals who work with youth problems must be considered as potential sources of social learning for adolescents whether they act *in loco parentis* or as simply another source of socialization. We looked at a number of social agency programs in various communities and found the following comparative analyses of such programs in urban, suburban, and rural settings to be representative.

Social Agencies and Social Control in Southside

Social agencies in Southside are as diverse as the population, and as numerous. There are a number of different types of agencies. One of the most common is the settlement house, which traces its origins back to the time when the various waves of European immigrants were coming to the United States. The settlement houses are the most comprehensive of the social agencies and traditionally have depended heavily on charitable contributions. Their original role of serving as "surrogate families" to the children of European immigrants has been extended in the present period to include Hispanic and Black youngsters in the same mode of relationship. Many of the settlement houses now also receive federal, state, or city funding to establish work programs or juvenile justice diversion programs. A number of the settlement houses maintain residential homes for the youngsters.

A second type of social agency is less comprehensive and more problem-oriented than the settlement houses. These are the various programs aimed at remediation, job development, juvenile justice diversion or prevention programs, drug-related problems, and teenage pregnancy. Here funding comes primarily from governmental sources and there is continuing tension and competition over the availability of those funds. Agency staff and directors are part of a semi-bureaucratic, hierarchically organized career development system. These professionals move frequently from agency to agency so that there is a high turnover rate among agency personnel. Their specialization, however, is on youth and quite frequently they remain associated with a particular problem area. Their relationship to youth is essentially to provide alternatives to the formal social institutional contexts such as the school, the family, the workplace, and the criminal justice system. One example is the Educational Association, which sees its responsibility as helping youth establish clear-cut educational goals. Staff workers see an essential part of their job as undoing "the damage that schools have done to [kids] for such a long time."

A third type of agency is quasi-governmental, often first established by a city, state, or federal agency as an outreach program and eventually becoming semiindependent. These programs are community based and frequently have community personnel involved.

> The director of an Hispanic program describes his agency as being responsive to the Hispanic community and an outgrowth of "ethnic politics." He goes on to explain that all the major ethnic groups have their own piece of the city. The Jews have the schools, the Irish have the police, the Italians have sanitation squads. All that was left for the real minorities — the Blacks and Hispanics — was welfare programs. At first the Blacks got most of the money and Black professionals and semiprofessionals all the jobs. Now, Hispanics are becoming increasingly politically important and more funding is coming their way.
>
> One of the precinct policemen said that the community-based agencies were another form of welfare. "They are a place where Hispanics and Blacks get their first political job and then move up as they become politically better known. I don't know that they do that much for the kids. They tell them what their rights are, like getting welfare for their parents, and they fill them up with a lot of racial and ethnic pride which is supposed to motivate them, but they still can't get jobs. They call them diversionary programs and that's what they really are. They divert money into the minority community in order to keep them off the streets and quiet.

There is a fourth type of agency which is specifically ethnically based and which has as its principal function developing ethnic consciousness in Southside youth. There are such programs for every major ethnic group in the area but the most highly organized are in the Chinese community, where at agency-schools such as the Chi y Ku Tuk Chin Association and the Pak Hok Kung Fu International Association, Chinese youth learn traits, symbols, and behavior of traditional Chinese culture.

What seems most important about the role of the social agency in Southside is that it seeks to mediate or even replace other institutional contexts such as the school, the family, and the criminal justice system. To some extent this results from the perceived inadequacy of these contexts as behavior guides for youth but there is also the development of a strong sense of advocacy for their youthful clients in opposition to those social contexts. This advocacy becomes reinforced as the social agency argues its clients' and, consequently, its case against governmental funding and control agencies. Michael Lipsky has aptly pointed out the plight of the "street-level bureaucrats" struggling to maintain their sense of advocacy but increasingly becoming alienated not only from the public, which seems to frustrate their professional lives, but eventually from their jobs and even their clients (Lipsky 1980: 72-80).

There is, however, at least in the agencies we observed and interviewed, an extension of that advocacy to seek aggressively for new sources of funding and, as a result, to develop a focus on and thereby help to identify and publicize, "current crisis areas" for youth, which has much the same character as voluntary organizations seeking a new disease syndrome to attack and raise funds against once they have successfully produced a cure for the health problem they originally were organized to combat. This is not to suggest, in either case, that remediation is not the motive force of their mission, but rather to indicate one of the major sources of the conflictual nature of their relationships with existing social institutions and with each other. Each agency is likely to point to the "endemic" problems of the major social institutions in Southside and to portray children and youth as the immediate victims and society as the eventual one. When federal, state, and local funds for such programs become scarce, the conflict also involves competition for scarce funds and clients. It is of some importance, in looking at the psychosocial organization of adolescence in Southside, to place the social agency and a "social agency culture" for adolescents into a perspective with the other institutions, since the social agency is a distinct institutional context and one which numbers of youth in this area see as the source of important value orientations.

Social Network and Social Control in Sheffield

Sheffield's social agencies, in contrast to the extracommunity character of social agencies in Southside, are intimately and totally outgrowths of existing social institutions in the community. A police officer involved with youth in Sheffield commented that everything is family centered, and the parents expect a tremendous amount of organized recreational activities sponsored by the community to fill in any free time their kids have after school. Throughout the conversation he came back time and again to the topic of the influence of the family in the community. All organized recreational and social activity is controlled by families either through their membership in country clubs, in churches, on community councils, or through the schools. "Talk about interlocking directorates, the same people sit on every board and some on as many as four or five different boards."

A good deal of the social agency activity in Sheffield is oriented toward athletic programs. Every church as well as every school maintains an athletic program. In addition, there are organized leagues for sports such as soccer or ice hockey which travel to various parts of the state and which are highly competitive.

Church social activities also center heavily on sports but include comprehensive programs ranging from behavior counseling to organized trips in and outside the community. One of the directors of a very large church-centered youth program describes what takes place:

> He talked about a lot of parental involvement in the program as well as cooperation from the school and

> that as a result "there is no crap going on: no smoking, no drinking, and very strict rules that kids know about." His program, he says, is like a family in that it builds relationships with each other . . . . "It's building family relationships on top of existing family relationships that is so important."

The same parent-approved social control exists in other social agencies as well. The result of this community-based, family-directed, church-related, school-associated network of activities for youngsters is that social agencies here are a concomitant part of the social fabric of the community. As a result, the community of socialization of youngsters is highly organized, and integrated, if still competitive. In a psychodynamic interview, one youth comments on his social network:

> I feel sometimes like Sheffield is a family and that other kid's fathers and mothers are mine too. I think, sometimes, about how it must be to live in a place like the city where you don't know everybody and everybody doesn't know you. It must be like being in someplace where you are free to do what you want and not have to worry about who is watching you and judging you.

Physical Distance and Social Control in Green Valley

Social agencies in the sense that they exist in Southside or even in Sheffield are not present in rural Green Valley. The major social agencies which would correspond to Southside's youth programs are located in the county seat and as we have seen, there is virtually no outreach from there to Green Valley. There are, however, organized social programs for youth, but once again they are integral to the school or the family-community. A state-funded educational center about 30 miles from Green Valley does organize programs for some youth from Green Valley but this is essentially an extracommunity activity.

The community itself also organizes recreational activities for youth. The chairman of the town recreation committee (who also owns the town's luncheonette) told one of our field workers that he has a working arrangement with the school in that he takes care of the recreation and athletic programs until the kids are 13 and then the school picks them up. The school, he says, usually has trouble with older kids because "once they get a car you can forget about them, they're off and away in their cars."

One other organizational context is important here, and that is, for the farm kids at least, the Grange and Future Farmers of America. The Grange, we were told by the local representative, was started in 1867 by a clerk in the Department of Agriculture to unify farmers. It was a rural organization for farmers until the beginning of the century. As the numbers of farmers declined, membership in the Grange declined along with it. The organization then became more socially oriented, working with families in farm communities, which meant that you did not have to be a farmer to belong. Today, she said, we call ourselves a rural family organization.

The agricultural teacher at the high school is also the local president of the Future Farmers of America. He told us about the youth programs of the Grange.

> We teach citizen responsibilities, helping others in your own community. We have square dances and roller skating and other cultural events. You don't have to have your parents in the Grange to join, but most of the membership is family membership.

School personnel we talked to in Green Valley are very supportive of the Grange, Future Farmers of America and 4H programs in the area and see them as part of the "old farm work ethic tradition." This same attitude is shared by most people we talked to in the area:

> The woman in charge of the youth division in the county seat told us that she remembered a Green Valley girl who was caught shop lifting in one of the nearby malls. Once the police had turned her over to the youth division, they attempted to contact the local authorities in Green Valley since the charges were being dropped and she was being turned over to their supervision. "We made some visits to Green Valley but it was not possible to establish any relationship with the police there, who said that in order to help the girl, they would have to alter her whole family situation and probably the best thing to do with her would be to turn her over to the 4H Club or the Grange."

A Comparative Analysis of Social Agencies in Three Sites

Comparing the social agency networks in the three communities points out differences in the structure of community organization for youth. In Southside the agencies are oriented toward replacing those social institutions — the family, the school, the workplace, and the criminal justice system — which are perceived as having failed. Social agencies become an institutional sector in themselves and, particularly in recent years, as a result of both the proliferation of such agencies and reduction in budgets, competitive with each other. One of the outcomes of youth involvement with these agencies is their strong association with agency professionals who become surrogate parents — in some cases literally — for many youngsters. The homogeneity of Sheffield is recapitulated in its network of social agencies. The agencies are intimately joined with the major social institutions and rely heavily on competitive sports and recreational activities; largely, they exist as a result of parental wishes. In Green Valley, the isolation which results from the separation of all save family- or school-oriented agencies, and particularly the absence of a ready job market, makes for a strong movement toward withdrawal on the part of youngsters once they are ready to leave their families. A 16-year-old Green Valley girl summarized it best in one of our interviews:

> Becoming an adult means that I can drive and then I can go anywhere I want to. It also means that I graduate from high school. I can get married because when you're an adult you are 18 and you can do anything that you want to, you can get your senior license then and get out of town.

Mass Media and Adolescents: Television

Each of the social institutional contexts I have described so far is physically, if not always functionally, a part of the greater community within which the adolescent develops. Television is not only external to this web of institutional contexts, there has always been considerable concern that it has socialization effects on youngsters which compete with or even supersede the effects of parents, schools, churches, and youth organizations or agencies. The fears and concerns take several forms and directions. One is television's role as a stimulus or even model for violence, aggression, and criminal activities. There is a large and growing literature on this aspect of television's role in socializing youth to antisocial and even illegal behavior but it is indeterminate in its conclusions. George Comstock and his associates (1978) have reviewed this literature and their conclusion is:

> The evidence is that television may increase aggression by teaching viewers previously unfamiliar hostile acts, by generally encouraging in various ways the use of aggression, and by triggering aggressive behavior both imitative and different in kind from what has been viewed. . . . the studies do not provide direct evidence on whether television contributes widely or generally to serious antisocial behavior (pp. 8-9).

Television has similarly been linked with developing rebelliousness in adolescents, particularly during the 1960s. It was thought to be the result of a premature cynicism produced by youth disenchantment with what they saw of society and the world on the screen (Bensman 1973: 71-75).

There is, however, another aspect of television and its socialization potential in adolescence which we found to be of even greater current interest in our field experience, and that is the relationship between schooling and television. Commentary on the relationship varies and ranges from those who see television as an adjunct of great if as yet unrealized benefit to those who see it as actually destructive of schooling. One of the major criticisms we heard of television by parents as well as educators is that it is not just that adolescents can't read; they don't relate to the symbolic system upon which reading is based. Additionally, they often cite a distorted sense of reality, passivity, lack of attention span, and declining SAT scores and National Assessment of Educational Progress results as important side effects.

Television, when considered in the context of all ages and classes of Americans, is without much doubt the greatest single source of learning presently in use. One important question here, of course, is just how much do adolescents watch television and how does this compare to the general population? Viewing begins in early childhood — before exposure to schooling — and increases through elementary school years, beginning to show a decrease in early adolescence, decreasing through high school and college years (Comstock 1977: 7). Adolescents, however, still manage to watch a substantial amount of television. In 1976, for example, teenagers (12-17) averaged almost twenty-two viewing hours per week, about seven hours less than the average viewer of all ages. Of particular importance is when they watch; teenagers watch the most television between the prime time peak hours from 8:00 to 10:00 P.M., when they comprise 40 percent of the audience. Comstock's explanation of the decline is interesting:

> . . . the decline in viewing just after early adolescence coincides with increased demands of high school, the onset of activities associated with the teenager's more active social life and greater mobility, availability of competing activities such as sports and clubs and the emergence of the stronger interest in and more ability to deal with competing media (p. 178).

The discrepancy in the amount of television watched varied by socioeconomic status in much the same way as it did among adults. Poor and uneducated teenagers watch about 26 hours of TV per week while more affluent and educated adolescents had the least total hours of watching (18.2) per week of any demographic group in the data (p. 97). Again Comstock's explanation seems congruent with what we observed in the field:

> The better educated, more affluent teenager has more alternative leisure time activities and also probably devotes more time to higher education. When television programming is not entirely to the taste of teenagers, the more affluent have both the chance and the motive to reject it (pp. 98-99; see also Pristuta 1979).

The related question of what teenagers watch is somewhat more problematic. Comstock's review indicated that situation comedies and feature films had the highest rating among teenagers while variety programs had the lowest (p. 116). Our own experience, which is almost a decade more recent than Comstock's, indicates that in the various communities we studied throughout the country, situation comedies were still popular and, to a lesser extent so were feature films, but late afternoon soap operas and situation comedies and dramatic shows involving the police and automobile chases were very popular as well.

Finally, there is the question of the effects of peer groups and families and television viewing. The Comstock study also reviewed the relationship between some psychosocial characteristics of adolescents and viewing:

> Young persons classified as insecure in their peer-group relationships, who had difficulties making friends or interacting within a group were found to be heavy television viewers . . . teenagers who had few

> high-school friends and teenagers who aspired to but perceived themselves not to have attained membership in prestige groups were heavier television viewers . . . . Parent-child conflict has also been reported to correlate positively with viewing (pp. 181-182).

Jennifer Bryce (1980) comments on how television is a mediator — setting a schedule for the temporal organization of family interaction, the uses of attention and the physical environment of the home, and even setting the agenda for family interaction and influencing the ways in which family members talk to one another — and so is a determinant of social learning in families. She goes on to point out, however, that while television has the capability of influencing the individual and the family, "the family has far greater power to influence the child's use of the medium" (Bryce p. 352).

How this exposure to the electronic medium has related to schooling is still one of the unanswered questions. Postman's characterization of "The First Curriculum" which children receive from television before they are exposed to schooling results, inevitably, in their first learning from a medium which is unstructured and consists of discrete and isolated events, images, and stories which have no implications very far beyond themselves. Lacking this structure, taking place as it does in a psycho-physical isolation from the community, television inevitably has an individualizing effect which is contrasted to the socializing effect of the group and the community centered and socially interactive process of schooling (Postman 1979). In a more recent attack on the socialization (or antisocialization) effects of television, Postman asserts that television is obliterating the distinction between childhood and adulthood (Postman 1981). To some extent this repeats David Elkind's concerns voiced a few years earlier that adolescents are being pressured to achieve more academically, socially, and sexually earlier than ever before (Elkind 1979).

Postman, however, is saying more and is specifically indicting television for destroying conventional socialization and developing an unnatural precocity which must eventually obliterate adolescence if not childhood.

To some extent such dire predictions and warnings of problems to come are an early social indicator of what Douglass Cater has described as a communication failure based on a superabundance of information which has been inadequately assimilated (1981). Cater is worrying about our astounding feats of developing technology for storing and transmitting information while at the same time seeming to be unable to organize it in ways which are not only beneficial but necessary to social survival. It may be that such is the case in the relationship between schooling and television. While it might be difficult to accept the proposition from the television side of the relationship proposed by Aubrey Singer "I believe that television . . . can be ahead of our times, providing crucial leadership, fostering man's awareness of his position, providing the feedback that enables us to use the full spectrum of our total vision," there are some significant steps in the integration of television and schooling (Singer 1971: p. 263). In a number of places teachers are encouraging students to be critical viewers and to read scripts or the books upon which TV dramas are based. The National Institute of Education has distributed grants of over one million dollars to help develop the techniques of critical viewing skills. As a 1979 *TIME* magazine article, "Learning to Live with TV," indicated, "In education, at least, some efforts are being made to live with the electronic menace, and even turn its endless noise, repetitive violence, materialism, and banality to some advantage."

Mass Media and Adolescents: Literature

One of the several criticisms of television viewing is that it reduces the adolescent's interest in reading and even the ability to read. It has also influenced adolescent reading tastes. "Anything on television is immediately reflected in circulation figures at libraries" concluded one study of librarians' experience and, they agreed, while children's tastes today are more sophisticated, their reading levels simply are not up to their interest levels (Schmidt 1978).

There have been some immensely popular books about adolescents which were as popular with them as they were with adults. J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*, which portrayed the confusion and aimlessness of Holden Caufield while ridiculing the adult world was once such a book which captured and has held a youth audience. Since that time, however, a series of realistic novels written especially for adolescents and dealing with drugs, death, abortion, sex, ethnic identity, and political rebellion have appeared, with language as well as subject matter as explicit as in their adult counterparts. Such novels are a divergence from those of the past, where the values of adult society were those which structured the lives of the heroes and heroines.

In nonfiction reading, there has also been a perceived change from the 1960s to the present. "Social issue" books such as *Future Shock* have given way to books such as *Winning Through Intimidation*. Where once there had been "the celebration of touching and loving the earth . . . now there is celebration and isolation and assertion of self" (Unilla 1976).

Meanwhile, it is important to note that teenagers still continue to read classics assigned in school, *Huckleberry Finn*, the Nancy Drew mysteries, and *Gone With the Wind*. But even as with television, there are continuing scenes of conflict as school boards and parents groups attempt to censor what can and cannot be required or made available by the schools for adolescents. Generally, however, by the time they reach late adolescence, young people of all social classes have begun to take on the reading habits of their adult counterparts and, as television has become the country's leading leisure time activity, the total time spent reading has diminished for all of us.

VI. THE PSYCHOSOCIAL CONTEXTS OF ADOLESCENCE AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF IDENTITY

Looking at the variety of social institutional contexts in the community which organize and can also disorganize the transition from childhood to adult status sets a number of critical issues for adolescent development in some perspective. One is the continuing controversy over the immutability or even the necessary existence of a period of life-cycle development which sets childhood off from adult status. Inevitably, questions here revert to the problems inherent in defining and describing a period in the life of an individual which starts with the observable biological fact of puberty and is only considered ended when a variety of social perceptions indicate that the individual is now prepared to function as an adult. Rather than being a discrete and definitive stage in the aging process, adolescence is composed of a sometimes bewildering complex of physiological, emotional, and social processes which are not automatically synchronized by chronological sequencing or biological development. This is fertile ground for conflict and a variety of conflicts do, in fact, exist, not all of which are the result of the unevenness of social and biological maturity. Freud, for example (1948), established a view of the sexual transformation of adolescence reaching back into childhood's early unconscious yet symbolic social relationships with parents in the Oedipal conflict which form the referent for future social relationships with authority figures. With the onset of the physiological changes which occur at puberty, the youth is in a state of conflict as he or she attempts to move from the early, familiar object relationships of childhood which preceded mastery of the Oedipal conflict to the new object relationships which mark separation from the family of childhood. In its broadest sense, this transformation is bounded by the movement from the childhood family of orientation to the adult family of procreation. Just as there is an inherent possibility of conflict in the ego's loyalty to each of these families, so there is conflict in the adolescent transformation as youth struggle to free themselves from early object relations with parents.

Just as Freud and his followers and pupils reinforced the primacy of the family in both the development process and the conflicts it can engender, so Piaget in Switzerland and Parsons in this country provided the theoretical basis for the peer group as a new — or at least newly accredited — agency for both development and attendant conflict. Piaget's observations of the cognitive development of children identified the arrival, at about the age of 12 or 13, of the capacity for "formal operational thinking," which allows for both adult logical reasoning and the impetus to reach out beyond situational constraints to seek hypothetical adjustments to reality and creative idealism. One of the prices of this new capacity is the conflict which the adolescent feels between reality and idealism, and the skepticism toward family and society which can result. The adolescent becomes increasingly dependent on peers for valuation and companionship. This interaction leads to the establishment of a peer group social network for the adolescent in which he or she finds the social space in which to develop social competence and to redefine social cognition. These two worlds of the adolescent, the family and the peer group, are another source of potential conflict; yet, as we saw in looking at the research and field evidence earlier, the family remains far more a source of values and influence in which there is considerable congruity between the values expressed by parents and their adolescent offspring. Then, as we have seen, the school as the dominant institutional context for youth socialization came to diminish the relative roles of the family, the church, and the community and seemed destined to isolate and insulate adolescents from adult work and society.

While Piaget's work on child development was becoming influential in our thinking about how children become adults, Talcott Parsons was describing the social conflict which resulted from the industrialized society's impact on the major socializing agencies of the family and the school. Since the home and the school have little effect on the direction in which society is moving, they are helpless to combat their own devaluation. Another conflict is set up, this time for youth themselves, who are on the one hand told to become independent and autonomous from family and school, yet become increasingly dependent on conglomerate structures in the society — big government, big business, big media — which are depersonalizing individuals while driving technological change. Consequently, it has been argued, the increasing and constantly changing demands for conformity and competence inevitably lead to a reactive youth culture which is a restless period of rebelliousness against the demanding adult society. Once again the recent research evidence and our own field observations indicate that the rebelliousness of youth collectives must be tempered with the realization that today, at least, there is far greater congruity between the standards of youth groups and the standards of the society in which they grow and develop.

One of the major consequences of the conflict between dependency and independency, the replacement of the intimacy of home and school by depersonalizing corporate institutional contexts, and the changing demands and resources for social and productive competence in youth, is the problem of finding one's identity in the fluidity of the adolescent's social world. Erikson sees adolescence as essentially a period of "the formation of identity," which involves the redirection of the developing ego from childhood identifications to socially and culturally valued identifications. Adolescence is still a period of personality restructuring, with all of the upset and conflict of ego formation, but now the locus of conflict shifts from intrapersonal to interpersonal contexts. It is the adolescent's relationship to a variety of institutional contexts which first leads him to question his identity and the confusion of the self-identifications presented to him by his family, his peers, the labor market, the media, and other social contexts which leads to the conflict of the adolescent "identity crisis." It is, as we have seen in the variety of social contexts we examined earlier, not just a question of inner turmoil and intrapsychic conflict but rather a function of how the community's variety of institutional contexts coordinate and present values and standards and the consequent self-definitions which adolescents can internalize and eventually organize into a unique and useful sense of self.

This movement outward in looking at the organization of the adolescent's sense of self has an interesting and not unrelated parallel in the study of organizations. The awareness of the importance of "external" as well as "internal" forces in the sociology of organizations developed fairly recently in this country and in England. For our purposes here, the work of E. J. Miller and A. K. Rice (1967) is most pertinent. Like many of the organizational analysts in this country as well as in Britain, their reserach was oriented to business and industrial organizations with productive missions. They described the organization as a tool designed to perform a defined set of tasks and regarded human needs for idenity, needs satisfaction, and defense against anxiety as essentially problems or constraints on that task performance. In trying to rationalize the relationship between these two organizational concerns, they introduced the concepts of "formal" and "informal" organization (formal organization is concerned with task performance and informal organization with coordination of the "whole individual") in much the same way it has been used in the sociology of organizations in this country (Blau and Scott 1963; Ianni 1978). Miller and Rice, however, went beyond the usual conceptualization of social organization by incorporating an intrapsychic aspect as well. Some mechanism, they argued, must mediate between the formal "task organization" and the informal, more affective "sentient structure." It is this latter structure which relates the individual to the outside, external affiliations which breach the boundaries of the group. Miller and Rice's formulations here are derivative from pyschoanalytic ego psychology and object relations theory (Klein 1959) in which a major task of the ego is mediation between the external environment and the inner world of the individual.

This congruence in the movement outward in both individual and organizational analysis is not coincidental. In both cases the concern developed as the obviousness of social forces impinging on the unit of analysis became apparent with the post-World-War-II expansion of a modern technological society. Clinical and organizational research had historically been oriented toward finding individual adjustments to a basically sound society. As a succession of social problems associated with increasing urbanization became national concerns, the burden of responsibility for both individual and organizational maladjustments moved toward the environment.

Social Learning and a Model of the Psychosocial Organization of Adolescence

This same movement was apparent in the study of adolescence as social causation theories, usually associated with some particular social problem, became prominent. The social context literature not only moved "the adolescent problem" outward into the environment, it challenged the primacy of epigenetic, internally triggered adolescent behavior. Here it was the social and cultural environment, and most frequently some specific aspect of it such as the peer group, industrialized society, the subculture of delinquency, or the media which created the problem or problems of the adolescent transition. What was lost in this transfer of the locus of control for the social script for the adolescent passage was the social equivalent of the individual ego, some collective entity which mediated between the internal feelings of the adolescent and the collective external social forces which sought to socialize him or her. Once again, it is not a problem unique to adolescence for, as I have pointed out throughout the earlier material from our field research, the problems which adolescents face are societal ones and affect us all. For adolescents those problems are particularly troublesome since they have neither the protective dependency of childhood nor the independent competence of adulthood to deal with personal crises and achieve identity. They are, in a word, individually and collectively *alone* amidst a maze of institutional contexts which alternately compete for primacy in socialization authority and protest their inability to deal with the task alone. As early as the 1830s Alexis de Tocqueville described the loneliness of Americans as a nation "locked in the solitude of their own hearts." For adolescents this loneliness is particularly acute since people feel most alone when they are not connected to something larger such as a family or a community. With the exception of the transient peer group, many adolescents have no such social structure to latch on to for support. The progressive demise of a series of social institutions charged with intimate responsibility for the socialization of the young — first the family, then the school, and eventually the community — was supposed to be in the service of creating a new structure of socialization, a milieu of social institutions working together to create a community-based structure for youth socialization. At the center of the eventual failure of this structure to materialize is the loss of the sense of community and the consequent fragmentation of the adolescent passage as the various socializing institutions function as largely independent, sometimes isolated, and at times even competing settings for youth.

Throughout our research in a number and a variety of communities from inner-city areas to affluent suburbs to relatively isolated rural towns, we found this disarray in the socialization matrix for adolescents. It differs considerably from community to community, however, both in the extent and character of the interconnections among socializing institutions and in how this pattern of organization is internalized by the youth in the community. It was this aspect of the reciprocal nature of the relationship between the socializing environment and the inner feelings of adolescence which formed the basis for the development of a model for looking at the psychosocial organization of adolescence in specific communities.

The model we have used grows out of both psychoanalytic and social learning theories and views the adolescent's development of a sense of self (or identity) as reciprocally interactive with the environment and resulting in the internalization of self-regulations of behavior in a "self-monitoring reinforcement system" (Bandura 1971: 28). What seemed most important for us was to define the psychosocial mechanisms or structures through which the reciprocally interacting effects of internal-external environments are organized and integrated into the self-regulatory behavior of adolescents. This would permit us to further define the process or processes by which an adolescent differentiates contextual settings in which an action or sequence of behaviors will *produce a positive, a negative, or an indifferent evaluation, initially from the* social setting itself but, with effective internalization, from his or her own self-evaluation. There are numerous examples in the field material of how this takes place as the adolescent observes not only how models (those possessing status, prestige, or power) behave in the situational context but also the consequences of their behavior not only for the actors but for the situation itself. As the context of the action changes, the individual observes how the resultant consequences change as well. These observations are "encoded" (interpreted), integrated, and stored in memory as a script to use when next encountering the same or a similar situation in terms of the contingencies of action associated with the situation (Schank and Adelson 1977). In Bandura's construction: "Personal and environmental factors do not function as independent determinants; rather they determine each other" (Bandura 1971). Self-regulation occurs for adolescents when they develop conceptions, beliefs, and self-evaluations to modify their behavior and the effective environment in which the particular behavior operates. They come to realize that some behaviors and their consequences are more socially and even individually desirable than others, but that specific organizational or institutional contexts carry with them their own unique and sometimes idiosyncratic standards. The degree to which there is consistency or at least congruence among these context-specific standards is a major determinant of the integration of the adolescent's development of a socially competent and individually consistent self-monitoring reinforcement system or superego.

The model we have used assumes that internalization takes place in the context of a number of structural domains which organize the effective environment available to the adolescent for the development of self-regulation and identity. Each of these structures organizes a distinctive area of enculturation (learning the culture) and socialization (learning rules of conduct) for both the formal and informal rules which guide individual and collective behavior. In a number of projects in educational and criminal justice settings, we have identified four such structures.

1. The socialization structure. This domain organizes the system through which the individual learns the cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills which define adulthood in the specific community. Since socialization is transactional, this structure also includes those interaction patterns through which adults are socialized to the same patterns valued by the specific community as well as the community's definition of youth's role in the variety of social institutional contexts which comprise the community. Each of these institutionally defined roles may be different not only from community to community but from institution to institution within the same community. Thus, as we saw in looking at work and schooling, youth "work" is seen *as* schooling in suburban Sheffield while in both Southside and, to a lesser extent, in rural Green Valley as well, work is defined for adolescents as what takes place outside school hours.

The conflict which may occur among the various social institutions in defining the standards of adulthood in this domain are present in each of the three communities but are most obvious in Southside. Here, each of the major social institutions establishes a different standard (and often even a different age-development level) for adulthood.

2. The authority-power structure. This domain describes the enculturation of discipline, authority, and the power of adults and adult-controlled institutions (government, the school, the work world, the family, the social agency) and finds models to emulate. Socialization also takes place within this structure and is organized by compulsory attendance laws, status offense laws, and age-grading procedures in general. Here again there are differences among the institutions of specific communities as well as between communities. When a community sees itself as having a significant youth rebellion or crime problem, it is in this domain that it usually seeks to bring about remediation by applying or reenforcing sanctions.

3. The peer-group structure. This domain refers to the enculturation of group values and norms in the two distinct peer groups in the community, that of child and that of adult. The values and behaviors particular to each of these groups are, to some extent, generation-bound, but they also differ among institutions as well as communities. Peer-group socialization involves learning to get along with each other and "fitting in" to the local youth-defined behavioral pattern, but it also involves learning roles, establishing patterns of conflict and agreement, and defining group values and behavioral expectations. Differences in group definitions represent more than the so-called "generation gap": they are affected as well by ethnic and social class differences among communities and within the population served by various social institutions.

4. Cross-group structures. This domain organizes the enculturation of behavioral codes for interaction between the two peer groups, including definitions of mediator roles and communication styles. Here socialization defines how adults and children relate to each other; it considers the rights and responsibilities of each and includes some intermediate or "marginal" points which are generically considered "adolescent behavior." Of considerable importance, but often ignored, is the process of mediation between the two groups. Mediator roles can be formal (e.g., parents, teachers, police, and employers). Many informal roles, however, also emerge in the pattern of relationships established in the community. The mediating role of social agency personnel for example, does not follow the traditional role set. Such mediator roles seem, as indicated earlier, to be particularly important in communities such as Southside where formal role models are not available or are not congruent with youthful adult ego-ideals. Informal mediating relationships here may also be based on ethnicity in urban communities with a majority of Black, Hispanic, or other minority youngsters and a small number of formal adult models from those same groupings. Daniel Levinson (1978: 97-101) has proposed the conscious development of a pattern of model-mentors for youngsters — people young enough to identify with yet old enough to have enough experience to be believable models.

While each of these "structures" is actually a network of interpersonal relationships among individuals which are defined by legal and administrative, group and individual decisions, they also organize patterns of behavior which channel or mold communications and behaviors among these individuals. Teachers, for example, usually talk differently to each other (peer-structure) than they do to students (cross-group structure); but they also talk differently within the teaching-learning structure than they do when they are within the authority-power structure. Students also learn to behave differently within the social context of each structure.

The Social Process of Sorting

One of the major organizers of behavior within each of these structures is the process of *sorting*, in which individuals classify themselves and each other according to a set of culturally defined labels. While the labels may vary from community to community and among institutions, the process of sorting is fundamental to the pattern of social relationships in every socialization institution. Youth "sort" each other and are "sorted" by adults. Discrepancies between the sorting process used by adults and by youth can lead to tensions and conflicts which jeopardize mutuality of expectations. Changes in the sorting process over time may indicate positive or negative interpretations of the socialization or authority-power structures by modifying the pattern of social relations within a community or particular institutional context.

What this means is that adolescent identity achievement can become as complex as the social structure of the community in which it emerges. In Southside, for example, the multiethnic and to a lesser extent social class differentiations in the area create "natural" bases for sorting which come to dominate the classificatory process. While the family "gives" the child his or her ethnic and class (as well as gender) identification, each of the socializing institutions we have identified sorts individual adolescents by these same personal characteristics but along parallel yet not always intersecting paths. The staff of the high school there, for example, sorts youth by ethnicity, pointing out that Black youth, male and female, are potentially the most violent and Hispanics are inclined to form close-knit, kinship-like networks, while the Chinese students are the most studious and motivated of the current major ethnic groups in the community. The local police precinct, however, has a somewhat different view and describes the Hispanics as the most potentially violent, the Black students as generally having a stronger sense of group coherence ("watching out for each other") than other ethnic minorities, and Chinese youth gangs in the area as the most serious threat to social order in the community. Just as we found elsewhere, there is also considerable discrepancy in Southside between the self-concepts that the adolescent develops in the parent-child (cross-group) structure and in the friendship (peer-group) structure. As Piaget (1965) pointed out, the parent-child defined "self" is usually considered unidirectional and based on an authority relationship while the self that develops as a result of friendship relationships of peers is based on "mutuality." We found this to be much less so in Southside (and other urban sites we studied) than in suburban and rural areas. Friendship patterns, like residential patterns, tend to be structured by coethnicity and are unilateral rather than reciprocal to the extent that ethnic identity is the major determinant which structures mutual acceptance. Conversely, relationships with parents are seemingly more reciprocally determined in Southside than elsewhere because of earlier emancipation of the adolescent from the family as a result of a number of factors, ranging from the adolescent's greater familiarity (as compared to parents) with American society to the more frequent absence of one or both parents as a result of working patterns, family disruption, or living conditions in the home. Interestingly, this complex sorting pattern, which makes identity achievement in the inner city so problematic, also seems to accentuate the adolescent's need to present a distinctive identity. The use of distinctive and often descriptive "street-names," preferred styles of dress which again stress individual identity, and personalized "marks" for use as graffiti are visible indicators of this search for an integrated identity.

Territoriality as Social Action

A second major process of social action in the structures we identified earlier is territoriality, which refers to the formal and informal assignment of psychological as well as physical space within the institutional contexts of communities and their accessibility to youth as well as the effects in particular communities of socialization environments (the school as contrasted to the home, for example) on behavior. The size of the community as an effective environment is also a function of territoriality in both absolute and relative terms. The sheer size of the high school in Southside, with five floors of classrooms stretching over one large city block and occupied by almost 4,000 students and 300 staff, makes any intimate association and identification with the school as an institution impossible (Ianni and Reuss-Ianni 1979). The result is that the sorting process is invoked to set up four school social and, consequently, academic systems largely on the basis of ethnicity. While the results of this aspect of territoriality in Southside for identity formation are clear, there is another aspect which we found in Southside and other inner-city areas which is, I believe, even more problematic for identity achievement by adolescents. Not only are the institutions in the inner city often in competition with each other and so unable to provide a coordinate structure of socialization to protect the growing child and adolescent against the vicissitudes of urban living, the size and complexity of such areas provides an opportunity structure for spontaneous structures of socialization to develop which are detrimental to the adolescent. A case in point is the relationship between youth unemployment and youth crime; as minority youth unemployment has increased, crime rates for this same group have risen concurrently. The relationship between these two rates, however, is a matter of some controversy. Edwin Banfield (1968) proposed that it is the opportunities for illegal income which cause inner-city minority youth to refuse low-wage employment and, consequently, to become unemployed or out of the labor market. More recently, however, Elijah Anderson (1980) has demonstrated that many middle-class youth are willing to take menial, low-paying jobs because they expect to move into better-paying jobs as they become older. For many minority youth, however, the expectation is that the menial, low-paying jobs they obtain at eighteen will be the same jobs they will hold when they become older.

The inner city has also always been a safe haven for a number of specific forms of crime such as organized crime and the illicit, underground economy (Ianni 1974). The implications for youth development are significant in both types of crime. Youth gangs are an important source of recruitment of youngsters into the loosely structured networks which are found in Black and Hispanic organized crime (Ianni 1974). And, as Joan Moore (1978) found in a study of Chicanos in East Los Angeles, there at least, youth gangs were directly involved in the drug trade and gang-based identities persisted for some into middle age.

The illicit enterprise or underground economy which flourishes in the inner city also allows some important insights into the relationship between illegal and legal economic opportunities among youth. This economy, as we saw earlier, includes not only criminal activities, but unlicensed service work and off-the-books employment. Bullock (1973) concludes that this "subeconomy" in American cities is related not so much to the social value structure of the inner city as it is to the structure of economic opportunity. He goes on to suggest that this underground economy is intimately tied into the legitimate economy and that minority youth are in the same bottom-of-the-employment-ladder position in both legitimate and illegal labor markets. The low monetary return to adolescents involved in the underground economy is documented in a study of minority youth involved in illicit activities in New York City by Jagna Scharf (1981). The youth she studied worked long hours but made small profits, particularly when compared to the considerable profits amassed by their employers, who inevitably took these profits outside the local community.

In the sectors of organized crime and the illicit economy, it is apparent that inner-city minority youth bear the brunt of significant unemployment and stigmatization by involvement in intermittent youth crime. This is not because there is any causative relationship between youth and crime or even minority youth unemployment and inner-city crime. Rather, it is demonstrably the result of the discordant complex of institutional norms and sanctions in both the labor market and the criminal justice system which combine to make certain types of work and crime "age-appropriate" for the period of adolescence. The role of territoriality in both instances is to provide a level in population size and complexity which is anomic and serves to protect the illegitimate opportunity structure. Urban block-based street corner gangs, as Gerald Suttles pointed out in *The Social Construction of Communities* (1972), are literally built into the "defended neighborhood's" crowded space not only by the physical geography of the city, but by its cognitive map as well. Forbidding reputations and fear — real or imagined — can keep people out of neighborhoods just as surely as restrictive covenants. Continued residential segregation, the tendency of criminal justice systems to ignore crime in the ghetto alone until it spills outside, and the continuation of racial, ethnic, and income-group stereotyping threaten to perpetuate the problem.

The Making and Breaking of Social Rules

Finally, the process of rule-making and rule-breaking serves as a third means of organizing behavior within the four major structures through which communities and their social institutions organize the adolescent passage. In the community environment of adolescence there is a proliferation of rules, yet rules and rule-enforcement vary widely from one community to another and among social institutions. Differences may exist across categories (such as teacher or student), between different enforcers (a policeman or a social worker) and offenders (a youth presorted as a potential delinquent and one who is not), from one place to another (the school and the home), and even over time. All of the factors which cause rules to be made in particular situations and which determine whether or not they are to be enforced in particular situations provide indicators of how a community organizes the adolescent transition. Here again, Southside serves as an instructive social model in which to observe the dynamics of the institutional effects on the synchronization of adolescent development in social rule differentiation and its consequences for identity achievement. While such areas of large cities are stereotypically described as lawless and lacking in order, there are extensive and competing formal and informal laws and social rules.

There is a controversy in the research literature over how (and when) young adolescents begin to learn to differentiate among rules pertaining to different institutional or social domain areas of their lives. Kohlberg (1976) in an approach which is derivative from Piaget's work with children (1965) argues that social rules are originally acquired by children as a comprehensive system in the family and are then differentiated as the child matures and comes in contact with other social contexts. Turiel (1978), on the other hand, indicates that children very early on are able to differentiate social rules by the domain of social life which presents them. In both cases, the distinction is made between conventions, which are essentially normative, contextually-related expectations of behavior necessary to regulate social functions, and moral rules, which have an enduring quality and which are applicable across social contexts, differentiating right from wrong in terms of justice and truth rather than simply social acceptance. Learning the distinction between these is a major part of the social development of the adolescent. When one adds to them the rules which are part of the legal code and the specific rules of institutional contexts (attendance rules in school or work rules on the job, for example) the possibility of confusion and conflict seem obvious.

I have earlier made the point that, in looking at inner-city as contrasted with suburban and rural communities, the proliferation of social agencies in competition with the traditional socialization institutions of the home, the school, and the church is immediately obvious. In addition, the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of Southside, again in sharp contrast to the homogeneity of suburban and rural sites we have studied, makes the notion of diversity come alive in the social action of the community. The consequence is that the variety of cultures not only presents a diversity of cultural backgrounds for adolescent development, it also produces a diverse set of culturally determined social rules and even some divergence in moral codes. The adolescent in Southside has a much more complex task of finding a cohesive set of rules or principles to integrate into his self-monitoring reinforcement or superego system and once again pays a price in terms of his or her search for an identity. It is important to keep in mind that for normative integration to occur, social links between youth and their socializing contexts and among those contexts as well are essential. In an area of cultural diversity, it is also necessary for these intermediate organizations to relate the diverse cultures to the general society in some socially functional form, else the task of cultural translation is left to the mass media or to the individual adolescent. In either of these latter cases, the problem is essentially one of the one-way transmission of the dominant culture at the expense of cultural integration. This conflict of cultures further complicates the problem which all adolescents have of integrating the different rules and different sanctions associated with the variety of socialization contexts.

There is also the problem of the internalization of the legal system of the community as a means of social control which eventuates in socially and morally approved behavior. In Southside there is a discernible culture of noncompliance with laws which are considered unjust, unnecessary, or unenforceable. The use of soft drugs such as marijuana, for example, is neither widely condemned nor are the laws against its use much enforced. A similar case is the development of a "gypsy cab" system in which patently illegal taxi cabs are permitted to operate without regulation so long as they confine their business activity to the low-income inner-city areas where licensed cabs are reluctant to operate (Ianni 1974). Here again, the development of this culture of noncompliance is not derivate from a culture of poverty or an indication of lawlessness among ghetto dwellers. It stems from the lack of coordinate moral agreement among the institutional contexts, which leaves to the adolescent the task of learning general principles of moral order rather than simply applying situation- or context-specific rules of the game.

A Community Youth "Charter"

Collectively, the processes which mold and channel behavior within the four structures are expressed as behavioral expectations which set the limits for approved behavior in the community among peers and in other institutional contexts. This loose collection of shared understandings which, while not codified, limits the variability of permissible behavior, might be called the community's "youth charter." This charter represents the formal component of what is usually considered the informal social organization of adolescence in a community. A teacher, for example, generally will allow an individual student a certain degree of freedom of behavior in the classroom before invoking the charter to describe (and sanction) the expected behavior for students in the teaching-learning structure, in the authority-power structure, or, in some cases, in both.

Interestingly, the charter is invoked as frequently, and possibly more frequently, by a lower person or group to sanction a higher one, as it is by a person in a position of power to sanction a subordinate. Also, since most adults generally seem to be reluctant to make decisions and absolute rules which might set a pattern of enforcement, much of the daily life of the adolescent proceeds from the shared understandings of the charter rather than from specific rules.

The process of invocation thus comes to represent the primary mechanism of social control within the community.

While the structures and processes of the community social organization of adolescence described above shape and mold the effective environment of individual adolescents and groups of adolescents, they are also the channels through which internalization takes place. These seemingly "external" environments organize internalization in a number of ways. First, since they provide the behavioral environment for adolescents, they also provide the locus within which youth can observe the effects of their actions and the actions of others. They also provide the information source through which youth vicariously evaluate and develop their own behavior through the judgement of others. Thus, a youth may come to sort himself into a particular behavioral group based on the judgements attached to that group in either the peer structure, the cross-peer structure, or both. Finally, as adolescents internalize the youth charter of their community, they develop a logic of judgement based on how that charter defines the limits of acceptable and unacceptable behavior.

Over time, as the process of adolescent psychosocial organization develops, these same structures and processes are reinforced by the community youth charter and the adolescent internalizes a structure of continuing self-regulation from external structures. Here again it is important to indicate that external in this context refers only to the structures which channel "external" into "internal" effects since their effective domain is both internal and external to the individual. Youth come to adopt standards as part of the charter, to seek support from peers and adult models in various institutional contexts, and to modify their own self-regulatory behavior in this process of validation.

While the structure of the model described here is the same regardless of the social institution or the community, there appear to be important differences in content not only from community to community as we had anticipated, but from one institutional context to another as well. The material presented earlier highlights the differences among communities in the socioemotional tone of internalized environments. In suburban Sheffield, for example, both the observational and psychodynamic data reveal a high level of *competitiveness* in the social organization of learning among adolescents. In Southside on the other hand, *conflict* seems to characterize the social organization of learning in the same institutional settings. In rural Green Valley, *withdrawal* and *denial* were characteristic both of the behavior we observed and in the defensive structure found in the psychodynamic interviews. These socioemotional characterizations seems to hold true in "street learning" as well as in classrooms and in the family and social agency or church youth groups as well.

Some Implications of the Model for Learning

There are a number of interesting implications of this model of the social organization of learning and some interesting questions which are worth pursuing.

Differential valuations: The degree to which we found that adolescents use their own differential valuation of the social context of learning in making judgements or modifying learning errors, for example, raises some questions about the Piagetan notion of the primacy of the maturation of logical structures in the movement from childhood concrete to adolescent formal operational stages of dealing with the environment. Our data indicate that how the community, as represented by the pattern of relationships among its constituent social institutions, models and organization of social learning is critical to understanding how it structures the adolescent passage to adulthood. The context of alternatives available to the adolescent which allows him to use formal reasoning is heavily dependent on the situational context within which the adolescent operates. To the extent that the institutional contexts of a community are not coordinate, there will be confusion between what the adolescent feels and the context wants him or her to do and the internalized sense of what ought to be done which marks true identity achievement.

Search for structure: Another major theme which emerges from the research data is a *search for structure* by youth to guide the movement from child to adult status. While I have presented evidence of this search for structure in the data from each of the institutional contexts we have examined earlier, it is most compelling in looking at peer groups and how such networks are related to other institutional contexts. Coleman's (1974) characterization of youth culture as "inward looking" and his argument that the "psychic attachment to others their own age" structures adolescence is modified in our psychosocial data by the degree to which we find that youth continue to turn to adults as referees and endorsers as well as models for future-oriented educational, occupational, and even socio-political learning. Observational and psychodynamic data from the various communities confirm the movement from parental to peer models for the validation of day-to-day social learning. But these same data indicate clearly that when youth are thinking about their own future adult roles, it is adults within some valued social institutional context to whom they turn for information, validation, and endorsement. Frequently, we find, such adults are professionals in some socializing organizational setting in which the adolescent is developing a sense of social competence. The valuation of such adults often becomes idealized within the youth networks associated with that organizational setting. What is important here is not just the role of the individual adult, but the search on the part of adolescents for a congruent and facilitative social structure within which to achieve the reorganization of the self which is the essence of the transformation to adulthood.

Coleman (1974) also describes a "press toward autonomy," a deviation of norms of youth from those of adults manifesting itself "in a high regard for youth who successfully challenge adults, or who act autonomously of adults." Here again, we find that while our data are not so much at variance with those of Coleman, when we integrate the observational and psychodynamic data, we find a different thematic emphasis emerging in our analyses. Like Coleman, we find that peer group structures are major behavioral settings within which youth, particularly in early adolescence, focus object relations on age mates both as individual friends and in same-sex peer networks. Our psychosocial data also concur with the oft-reported idealization which characterizes these relationships in concert with a devaluation of adults in general and the parent in particular (Blos 1979). In the psychodynamic interviews with early adolescents in each of the communities, for example, fantasy material frequently related to values shared with age mates which are in real or imagined opposition to parental values. But by middle adolescence, and impressively by late adolescence, we found considerable evidence, particularly in the urban sites, of the turning to adults within some valued social institutional context which was described earlier. To some extent this is a manifestation of the current increasing concern for educational and career futures. It is, however, also a turning to individual and collective institutional contexts for a psychic structure of new ideals and values in the service of defending against instinctual anxieties resulting from the adolescent's social marginality. Thus, the valued adults can, as indicated earlier, be seen as role models and the idealized descriptions of them we have heard from youth underscore this interpretation. But there is also considerable evidence in the psychodynamic material, particularly from those cases where we have been able to interview a number of members of the same network associated with a particular organizational setting, that such adults are actually transitional objects or mediating agents in the search for a psychic structure within which to develop guidelines or rules which lead to social competence.

What seems to have emerged in our search is considerable evidence that the development of ego identity in adolescence is not sufficiently explained by peer relationships, nor is the "press toward autonomy" entirely a movement away from decathected adult objects. Rather, we find that the adolescent search for a psychic structure which will facilitate social competence and develop an identity is an interactional process in which the adolescent helps to shape the effective environment within which this transformation of the self will take place. As part of this search, he or she also looks to significant adults as transitional objects through which to structure a unified view of the requirements for social competence — a superego in psychoanalytic terms — within which to consolidate the ego.

An integration. The third major theme which organizes the analyses presented earlier integrates the previously described interactional model of the psychosocial organization of adolescent learning and the search for a psychic structure within which to develop social competence. In our review of the literature it seems clear that two theoretical models of the social organization of adolescence have dominated both research and practice. In one model, which has historically been associated with epigenetic stage theories, the basic social competencies are developed in essentially familial interaction in childhood. These basic orientations are then modified and extended by other social contexts — peer groups, the school, work settings, and so on — but always as elaborations of such orientations. The second model, which characterizes much of the social context literature, assumes that specific sets of skills or competencies are more or less independently developed in each of the variety of institutional contexts as a response to the demands of that system. In the epigenetic model, the success or failure of the variety of social contexts within which the adolescent lives, learns, and works is heavily dependent on early childhood experiences. Youth employment professionals and employers, teachers, and policemen who cite their inability to do anything constructive with adolescents whose early childhood experience did not provide a secure basis for learning or job readiness or constructive social behavior are drawing explanatory evidence from this theoretical model. When, on the other hand, they propose training or remediation programs for youth they usually prescribe the social organizational model associated with their own social context as being essential to the development of the specific social learning required. Thus, while the school values inquiry and search, the workplace usually prefers conformity and strict task attendance. It is the individual adolescent who is usually left with the task of rationalizing the various social organizational contexts with some important implications for his or her ego strength during adolescence and possibly into adulthood.

In our research, we have seen a very different theoretical model beginning to emerge. The evidence presented for each community seems to indicate a *synergistic* rather than *sequential* or *independent* pattern of relationships among institutional contexts in the lives of adolescents. How the various institutional complexes are integrated, in terms of continuity and congruence, rather than the individual impact of any single institution emerges in our analyses as the most important determinant of the psychocultural environment which organizes the transition to adulthood. Indeed, it seems that the quality and character of their integration (or lack of it) can produce effects on adolescents of which each is individually incapable. In Southside, for example, the various social institutions are in open conflict with each other. The consequences for adolescents are shown clearly in psychodynamic interviews which indicate considerable anxiety on the part of youth over the lack of continuity and congruence they feel in the integration (or, more accurately, lack of integration) in the psychosocial organization of adolescence characteristic of this particular social system. In suburban Sheffield, on the other hand, all of the social contexts work together to insure that they provide an articulated set of behavioral guides to the adolescents in the community. Children move and are moved easily from one institutional setting to the next without any apparent lack of continuity and congruence. The analyses of the psychodynamic interviews indicate that competitiveness is an important element in interpersonal and intergroup relations and that performance anxiety is high. In the rural site of Green Valley, the effects of demography and family structure seem to produce a different integrative pattern based on individual adolescents integrating institutions for themselves and a heavy dependence on withdrawal and denial in defensive patterns in the psychodynamic interviews seem to be associated.

Some Applications of the Model

An awareness of our model is already present among practitioners in a wide variety of the youth-related agencies we observed in looking at successful as well as less than successful programs for strengthening the relationship between work and schooling; for example, we found that those which are successful stress a linkage model which produces a unified view of how education relates to later as well as present work skills and career development. The primary factor seems to be sufficient planning to ensure that the work component of the school-work collaboration addresses some area of productive enterprise which is valued by both adolescents and the community and provides some sense of challenge to both. Many such programs we have examined or read about in our literature and policy reviews have a distinct feeling of "make-work" situations which are of little or no intrinsic value and so are devalued by both youth and the adult program planners themselves. This does not necessarily mean that productivity is measurable only by pragmatic standards. Certainly, programs which are directly linked with business and industry can be important and practical means for a comprehensive career education model which both prepares for and structures the transition to the world of work. But providing skilled man and woman power for business and industry is neither the sole function of the school nor the primary benefit of the successful adolescent transition to a productive and secure adulthood.

A second factor which we found in many successful programs grows directly out of this latter concern. Work as part of life experience should be more than just man's (and woman's) lot in life. It can and should be viewed as a means of transforming the environment and producing the culture. This can begin in the school itself. A number of schools in which we worked established school-community programs in which students worked on projects with a variety of community improvement programs.

A third factor of such programs is their focus on providing first-hand knowledge to youth of what the current occupational options are in the area. One of the major criticisms of traditional vocational education programs is that they prepare students for jobs which may well be obsolete in the long-if not short-range future. One of the most promising approaches here is a resurgence of the apprenticeship. Apprenticeships currently seem to be concentrated in the industrial sector, particularly in the building trades, where over 60 percent of the registered apprentices are located (Glover 1980). But as Glover (1980) has pointed out, although apprenticeship programs tend to be industry-based while cooperative vocational education is school-based, the two can work together. Schools can channel well-prepared and interested students into apprenticeships of various kinds in any area of the economy while still providing the instructional portion of the program.

Finally, successful programs which link the world of work to schooling provide a structure which youth can see and evaluate while permitting sufficient flexibility to allow for differing emphases on schooling and work experience for different roles and at different times. One of the lessons of past attempts to coalesce work and schooling is that while providing a sense of direction, which is essential to setting up programs which are task- and goal-oriented, structures can become rigid and miss the opportunity or need to change with changing times.

The institutional network aspects of successful youth programs are also evident in Weis and Hawkins' (1981: 15-18) description of strategies for delinquency prevention which emerge from what they identify as a "social development model."

> *Role development* strategies assume that delinquency stems from a lack of opportunity to be involved in legitimate roles or activities which youths perceive as personally gratifying. They attempt to create such opportunities. To meet the conditions of role development, roles provided must be perceived by youths as sufficiently valuable or important to justify expenditure of time and effort. Furthermore, they must offer youths an opportunity to perceive themselves as useful, successful, or competent. *Power enhancement* strategies assume that delinquency stems from a lack of power or control over impinging environmental factors. They seek to increase the ability or power of youth to influence the institutions in which they participate.
>
> *Social network development* strategies assume that delinquency results from weak attachments between youths and conforming members of society. They seek to increase interaction and involvement between youths and nondeviant others as well as increase the influence which nondeviant others have on potentially delinquent youths.
>
> *Education/skill development* strategies seek to assist those involved in conventional activities and interactions to develop adequate cognitive and affective skills to ensure that youthful participants are successful in these involvements and interactions. Education/skill development strategies assume that delinquency stems from a lack of knowledge or skills necessary to live in society without violating its laws. Education strategies provide youth with personal skills which prepare them to find patterns of behavior free from delinquent activities, or provide skills or assistance to others to enable them to help youths develop requisite skills.
>
> *Clear and consistent social expectations* strategies . . . . assume that delinquency results from competing or conflicting demands and expectations placed on youths by institutions such as families, schools, communities, peer groups, and the law. Inconsistent expectations or norms place youths in situations where conformity to a given set of norms or expectations results in an infraction of another set of norms or expectations. This situation can result in confusion as

to what actually represents conforming behavior and/or a cynical attitude toward legitimate expectations of any kind. These strategies seek to increase the consistency of the expectations for different institutions, organizations, and groups which affect youths. Note that the foregoing strategies do not directly seek to change youths' attitudes (commitments/attachments) or beliefs through counseling or other mechanisms. The prevention process requires providing opportunities for rewarding involvement and interactions, and providing a clear and consistent system of reinforcements so that conforming, proficient behavior is, in fact, consistently rewarded. Meeting these conditions should lead to positive attitudes and beliefs (development of commitment to conventional activities, attachment to conventional others, and belief in the moral order) which, in turn, will prevent delinquent behavior. In contrast, the following strategies seek to increase the probability of negative reinforcements for delinquent norms, associations, and behaviors.

Criminal influence reduction strategies . . . . assume that delinquency stems from the influence of others who directly or indirectly encourage youths to commit delinquent acts. They seek to reduce the influence of norms towards delinquency and of those who hold such norms.

Finally, *deterrence* strategies . . . . assume that delinquency results because there is a low degree of risk or difficulty associated with committing delinquent acts. They seek to change the cost/benefit ratio of participation in crime by restructuring opportunities and minimizing incentives to engage in crime . . . . [The] deterrence strategies included in the proposed prevention model are combined with the criminal influence reduction strategies in the form of community mobilization and organization against crime. While criminal influence deterrence activities are not likely to directly increase individual youths' commitment to conventional activities or attachment to conventional others, they are likely to change the community norms toward criminal activities and the opportunities for involvement in such activities. Both changes should be accompanied by lower community rates of delinquency.

There are a number of specific programs which grow out of this social development model of dealing with juvenile crime and delinquency. Some are based upon a community youth development model which attempts to involve youth, particularly those who do not show a strong commitment to existing socialization agencies such as the school, with patterned relationships to legitimate activities and groups (see Youth Community Development Projects in Wall et al. 1981: 135). There are variants of this model also in programs such as the Community Arbitration Project in Anne Arundel County, Maryland in which juvenile offenders, their victim or victims, and the offender's parents are brought together in an informal session in the courtroom with an attorney designated as the Juvenile Intake Officer who arbitrates the case. If the offender admits the offense and consents to arbitration he or she is assigned (or "sentenced") to a specified number of hours of community work or restitution, counseling, or an educational program. A number of other programs which come out of this same model place emphasis on reconnecting the youth with his or her family and have been discussed earlier in connection with peers and families. Of specific interest are those which attempt to deal with the special problem of crime and delinquency in schools.

A number of school-based and school-related programs have been developed which grow out of the perspective of the social development model. One type of program focuses on the improvement of governance by involving students in school policymaking, particularly in areas such as drug abuse, and insuring that a wide range of students, not just "leaders" are involved (see the Open Road Student Involvement and Positive Peer Culture in Wall et al. 1980: 75 and 90). A similar model involves adding law-related education (see Law in a Free Society in Wall et al. 1981) or prevocational education and career exploration to school curricular programs on an experiential basis as early as the middle or junior high school years (see Experience-Based Career Education in Wall et al. 1981: 43). A somewhat different approach places more emphasis on control aspects. Here, programs like Los Angeles's Sey YES (Youth Enterprise System) or San Francisco's *Centro de Cambio* look to prevention and remediation through intervention in school crises through the use of cooperative gang members or former gang members, and through training teachers and administrators in crisis intervention techniques and information gathering and rumor control (see Sey YES Community Streetwork Center, and Centro de Cambio in Wall et al. 1980).

Other exemplary program models are available in almost every area of adolescent life and each places some emphasis on linking social institutions in a community-common approach to youth. The National Commission on Youth report, *The Transition of Youth to Adulthood* (1980), for example, presents models for program designs for improving health services for youth which will help them develop a better coping style; the models call for coordination of home and school with health providers (120-129) and a similarly motivated linkage model for schools and communities (187-197). The Center for Early Adolescence (Farel 1982) has compiled a status report of responsive religious programs which gives the reserach base of a number of exemplary programs based on what is essentially a linkage model among socializing institutions. The National Commission on Resources for Youth in its report "Youth into Adult" (1974) describes and explains a wide variety of programs for youth which involve multiinstitutional experiences and in its report "New Roles for Early Adolescents" (1981) applies these same strategies in early adolescence.

While these models are designed to link together the various socializing institutions in order to help the adolescent bridge the transition to adulthood without unnecessary delays and confusion in means and ends, there are still major questions about the future of adolescence in American society. Just a few short years ago it was not uncommon to hear about "the death of adolescence" in the face of media, parental, and popular cultural influences in compressing the years of childhood by early exposure to adult lifestyles. Increasingly, however, despite the frequent characterizations of adolescence as "a bridge too long" (National Commission on Youth 1980), the prospects for a longer rather than a shortened adolescent period must be considered. Puberty, real and social, is coming at earlier ages as the time of the menarche, first sexual experiences, pregnancy, and less physiological but just as compelling factors such as dating, use of automobiles, and even adjudication as an adult in the criminal justice system and beginnings of proposals to extend the upper limits of adolescence, primarily in response to the problems of youth unemployment. These have taken a number of forms, from recurrent political proposals to reduce the minimum wage for youthful employees or to create a year of public service activities for high school graduates to continued extension of post-secondary education. The economist, Paul Osterman, has also borrowed Erik Erikson's notion of a "moratorium" between youth and adulthood and applied it to the problem of youth unemployment (Osterman 1980: 150). Moratorium is, it is said, the period of the first few years after leaving school when most young people are preoccupied with having a good time, sexual experiences, and forming an identity. During this period most youth still live with their parents and use income for recreation rather than for subsistence. Except for those few who have a planned professional career ahead of them, most youth have not yet entered into the next life phase of "settling down" which follows the moratorium and in which career definition begins to shape and settle. Both political expediency and the labor market postponement seem to be questionable in our own field experience with youth who see hard times in the job market as a growing problem for them. Many of the psychodynamic interviews also contained an explicit or implied consensus that rather than pushing ahead of their parents' socioeconomic levels as promised in the American Dream, they would be lucky to reach their parents' level.

The French psychoanalyst Haim (1969) has described the similarities in the dynamics of mourning and the emotional tone of adolescence; the developing adolescent is required to give up the gratifications, the goals, and even the objects which structured his or her childhood world. The adolescent passage viewed in this perspective is a period in which the child becoming an adult requires stable and consistent guidance in moving from dependence to independence, from the ethnocentrism of early adolescence to the social competence of the young adult and from the descriptions of who he or she should be provided by a variety of social contexts to a person with his or her own identity. Community structures and processes, as experienced through their institutional contexts, interact with individual personalities and environmental factors to produce behaviors and motivations, attitudes and role models for the transition to adult status. It is in the combination of these social contexts that adolescence can and often does become a period of great joy and challenge as well as a sad journey from what must be left behind. As Scarr (1979) put it succinctly "Behavior has meaning . . . and meaning is given by the larger context . . the idea of context-free general laws of behavior seems to have gone the way of culture-free tests —- there is no such animal."

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